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Greens drop in, FDP drops out in lack-lustre Euro-poll

The German environmentalist Greens have been elected to Europe for the first time. They polled about 8 per cent of the vote and will probably have seven seats. The Free Democrats polled less than the 5 per cent cut-off level and will therefore have no Euro-MPs. Both the CDU/CSU and the SPD polled slightly fewer votes than in the 1979 Europoll, and the former remains the biggest single group with 41 seats from 46 per cent of the votes cast. The SPD will have 33 seats from about 37 per cent. The turnout was 57 per cent compared with 65.7 per cent in 1979. The new Europarliament is expected to maintain its centre-right coalition despite a slight swing to the left.

The Euro-election campaign left voters in the 10 EEC countries little the wiser on what was at stake and what difference their vote could make. So it drummed up no enthusiasm.

Political parties sensed the reluctance felt by their regular voters and aimed from the outset more at a forced and fitful campaign than a fighting one.

The campaign steamer and circus wielded by the main German parties in their campaigns failed to put the European message across. European affairs proved too cumbersome and have too often been cast in bright and extravagant colour.

In the circumstances the parties made a virtue out of necessity, running as a mid-term domestic test what was originally billed as a European contest.

The Europoll was mainly for domestic consumption, with party treasurers rubbing their hands in glee at the prospect of so much cash in lieu of campaign expenses.

Other interests were at stake than parliamentary strength in Strasbourg. The Social Democrats, for instance, were keen to see voters give the government a piece of their mind.

The ruling Christian Democrats were hoping after a string of setbacks that Germany would forge ahead and, more particularly, that the Bonn government would be given a morale-booster.

The Greens were expecting to prove they are the third-strongest political force in Germany, while the Free Democrats were keen simply to survive.

So despite the European ingredients of the campaign, it was domestic aspects that gave flavour to the brew, and the situation was no different in other Common Market countries.

Direct elections to the European Parliament, which were so difficult to reach agreement on, lose much of their symbolic value in these circumstances.

They are less a shared experience than a simultaneous display of different domestic performances in the 10 EEC countries.

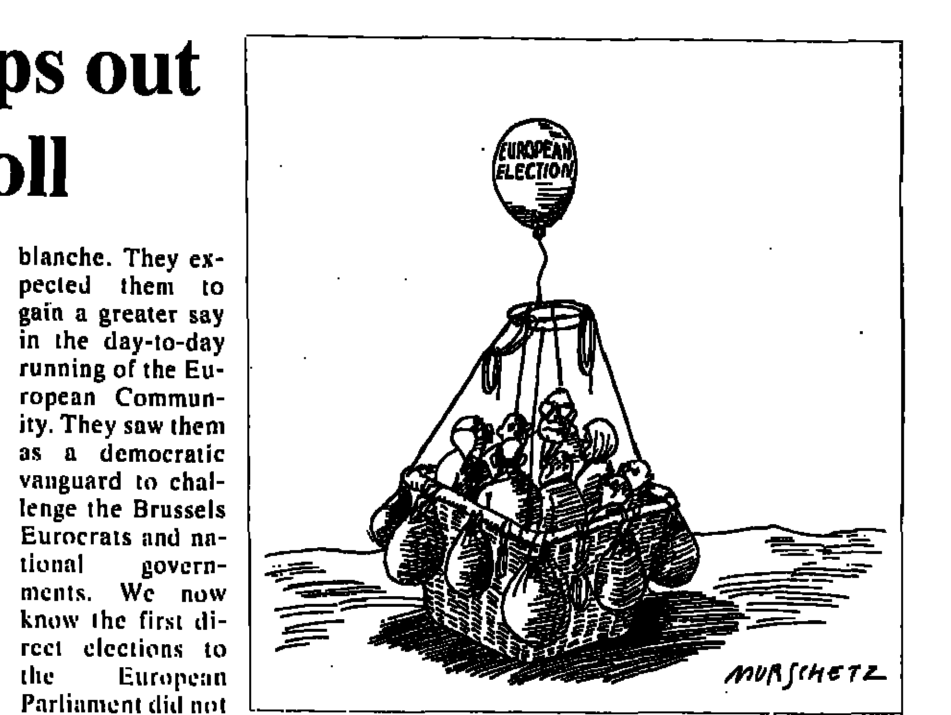
It was different five years ago when the first direct elections were held. There was no European euphoria (any more than there was this time) and the turnout, 62.2 per cent, was not a glorious commitment to European integration. But it was a promising start.

Many voters, confident there would be a fresh start, expected great things of Euro-MPs and gave them carte blanche. They expected them to gain a greater say in the day-to-day running of the European Community. They saw them as a democratic vanguard to challenge the Brussels Eurocrats and national governments. We now know the first direct elections to the European Parliament did not mark a turning point. The directly-elected parliament failed to change Europe, let alone the daily lives of its people.

In spite of having been voted for by millions of people the European Parliament stayed on the sideline in EEC affairs, almost powerless in face of the European Commission and Councils of Ministers.

The European Parliament worked hard, and largely unnoticed, behind the scenes. Its reams of paperwork merely confused the wider public.

Euro-MPs themselves are not solely to blame for this feeble image. The men who laid the groundwork for the European Parliament have more to answer for.



One day we'll lift off

(Cartoon: Murschetz/Die Zeit)

Ten years ago they set up a parliamentary hybrid: an assembly that can neither pass legislation nor stall it for *any length of time, that has very little* influence on the EEC's budget and cannot even decide for itself where to meet.

Impartial observers are bound to view this hybrid as an abortion. Its founding fathers saw it more as a wanted child, albeit a weak and sickly one.

On election day the summary of parliamentary activities is, like the picture the EEC itself presents, disappointing.

So there was a serious risk of voters staying away in droves to show what a dim view they took of Europe.

Summit failures and ongoing disputes over cash contributions, the risk of the EEC going bankrupt and the largely unchecked squandering of funds on common agricultural policy and the frequent disagreement among the 10 on foreign affairs and environmental protection are enough to make you sick and tired of the poll.

But abstention is not going to improve matters. In spite of all misgivings there were still enough arguments against abstaining and for giving the European Parliament another chance.

One issue at stake was Europe's dignity. The European Community has extended the foremost political privilege of its citizens beyond national borders. Nowhere else in the world is voting supranational.

Nowhere else is there an opportunity of voting with people in other countries on common policies. That is an opportunity: one it is well worth holding on to even though it may hold forth no more than a marginal prospect of progress.

Voting this time round could be taken as a "no" to European faintheartedness and a "yes" to the historic

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Low turnout: Europe prefers to watch the soccer

There was one clear loser at the Europoll in Germany. It was Europe and its parliament, which was up for election.

Germans can clearly still summon up interest in Europe when football is involved, (Europe is in the middle of the international football championship) but years of bargaining over farm subsidies have tended to alienate them from ideas of European integration.

Reducing mountains of butter and lakes of milk and destroying surplus fruit and vegetables has not made Europe any the more popular either.

Turnout was down on voting in the first direct elections to the European Parliament five years ago. The message is clear and must be heeded.

The European idea, as voiced at present, may have reached people's minds but not their hearts, despite what politicians may say.

It is extremely doubtful whether any great domestic political inferences may be drawn from the results. All that can be said for sure is that neither of the two major parties succeeded in whipping up much enthusiasm among their regular supporters.

Nothing else will account for the major losses sustained by both. The Social Democrats' losses may be tolerable, but the Christian Democrats should have every reason to be worried.

Losses of this dimension can only reflect the refusal of voters to excuse the Christian Democrats their recent setbacks and scandals. There are clear limits even to the popularity of Chancellor Kohl.

The writing on the wall is even more clearly written for the Free Democrats, who failed to poll five per cent and are no longer in the Strasbourg assembly.

The FDP has lost even more weight as a coalition partner for the CDU/CSU.

The Greens are the undisputed winners. In the European Parliament they have reaffirmed and consolidated their place as third party in the German party-political spectrum.

Arn Strohmeyer

(Bremer Nachrichten, 18 June 1984)

■ EUROPE

Death of Berlinguer deals Eurocommunism a blow

Eurocommunism had declined in importance as a political idea and movement before the sudden death of Italian Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer. Without him it will be even less capable of recovering from this setback.

For Yugoslav journalist Stane Barbieri, the inventor of the concept of Eurocommunism, it is an alternative to Soviet-style Communism both in origin and in social system.

Eurocommunism's claim to be independent of Moscow, needing to acknowledge neither a command centre of world communism nor the exemplary character of the world's first socialist state, seemed to make the Eurocommunists acceptable as coalition partners to democratic parties in Western Europe.

By the second half of the 1970s the Italian, French and Spanish Communist Parties as the nucleus of the Eurocommunist movement had largely dispelled suspicions that they were merely demolition squads sent into the fray by Moscow and incapable of looking after national interests.

The gradual emancipation from Moscow of the non-governing Communist Parties of Western Europe was not due solely to Berlinguer or the former Spanish Communist leader, Santiago Carrillo; France's Georges Marchais has always chopped and changed.

It was heralded by destalinisation and made acceptable by Nikita Khrushchev's concession to the Yugoslavs, who were *allowed to pursue their own road* to socialism.

Crises in the Communist world such as the Sino-Soviet dispute and the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia fostered the desire to differ from the Soviet model.

The 1975 Helsinki accords also enhanced the idea that the East-West clash was no longer so head-on and that detente favoured rapprochement between the systems.

So it was only natural for the violent end of the Prague spring to mark the beginning of public rebelliousness against the Soviet concept of a monolithic socialist world.

Elevated by the Helsinki accords to the status of an intermediary between East and West, Eurocommunism was only able to maintain its hybrid character as long as detente continued.

Ideologically speaking, the Eurocommunists just about came to terms with the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, which they were able to portray as saving the country from the murderous regime of the Khmers Rouges (although they had not previously criticised the ousted Cambodian regime).

But the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to a split, and events in Poland forced the Italian and French Communist Parties to perform such strange acrobatics that their Eurocommunist spirit was deformed in the process.

Communist Party leaders in Rome, Paris and Madrid had already had difficulty in keeping in step on the basis of programmes agreed in 1975.

There were Eurocommunist peaks such as renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and rejection of "proletarian internationalism" at the 1976 East Berlin conference.

But Berlinguer, Marchais and Carrillo found it increasingly difficult to maintain clear policy lines on Europe and security. M. Marchais, for instance, found it easier to hide behind Giscard d'Estaing's anti-Atlantic views than behind the pro-Atlantic outlook of M. Mitterrand.

Señor Carrillo in contrast was covered by a disinclination to link Spain with Nato extending well into right-wing opinion.

Signor Berlinguer alone had to go further in supporting a balance of military power and, with it, Nato. But his efforts to make military pacts, including Nato, superfluous helped him out of a political dilemma.

To this day views differ on whether Eurocommunism is merely a tactical bid by the leading Communist Parties of Western Europe to gain power or truly testifies to their conversion to democratic methods of gaining and losing power.

Eurocommunist leaders have failed to come up with a clear answer. In particular, they have avoided committing themselves to institutions capable of guaranteeing human rights and legal safeguards. The emergence of extra- and anti-parliamentary forces, as parts of the peace and ecological movement may fairly be described, has spared the Eurocommunists any need to clearly commit themselves on either democracy or defence.

As for Berlinguer, he failed to progress further than his "historic compromise" and sleeping partnership in Christian Democrat Giulio Andreotti's minority coalition government.

But he retained the support of Communist voters, unlike M. Marchais, who had Communist Ministers appointed by the grace of M. Mitterrand, while Señor Carrillo's party has been relegated to a minor role.

There seems to be no uniform Eurocommunist means of gaining both power and support. The division of the Finnish Communist Party into a Stalinist minority and a majority anxious to stay independent of Moscow may be termed an experiment in Eurocommunism.

A similar split had previously occurred in Spain to the detriment of both factions. But Eurocommunism might arguably be described as a process of clarification that doesn't pay dividends until clarity has been established.

Josef Riedmiller
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 June 1984)

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process of integration.

The going may be slow but there can be no denying that European integration combines a minimum of risks and a maximum number of opportunities.

Voting was sure to convey an idea of the strength of Europe's determination to assert itself, a determination that has long been questioned. It is now increasingly put to the test by the superpowers' lack of consideration and by the economic offensive launched from the Far East.

Will Europe be able to take arms against the challenge or not? Election turnout may well be a guide.

Not long ago there was no reason to elevate the direct elections to the European Parliament to the status of a test of faith.

There was so much confusion and faintheartedness in Europe that fine words were ruled out. But the gap between pretensions and reality in the EEC seems to be narrowing.

European identity, long clothed in fine words, seems to be taking shape. Anxiety is arguably succeeding where civil service planning failed.

Fears of becoming even more of a plaything of the great powers and possibly succumbing to the technological and economic supremacy of America and Japan have made EEC Cabinets arrive at a long-overdue conclusion.

It is that jointly we may survive, whereas individually we are doomed to vanish into international political oblivion.

President Mitterrand of France has made this point most strikingly. His appeal to the European Parliament for political union and for greater security, industrial and technological cooperation is in keeping with the needs of the hour.

We will see at the forthcoming European summit whether it was more than a mere campaign pledge. Europeans will then see for themselves whether M. Mitterrand's actions match his words.

He can certainly count on German support for his plans. The much-vaunted entente between Bonn and Paris gives rise again to hopes, for the first time since the days of Helmut Schmidt and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, of fulfilment for the prerequisite of closer European cooperation Winston Churchill prophetically realised in 1946 to be indispensable. "In all this work," he noted, "France and Germany must jointly take the lead."

Churchill's premonition is constantly borne out by his successor at 10, Downing Street, Mrs Thatcher. Britain is certainly not the source of salvation for Europe today.

Mrs Thatcher's frank egoism and constant disputes over EEC contributions not only brakes any kind of European impetus. By overhastily approving President Reagan's dangerous deficit policy she has breached EEC solidarity yet again.

If, despite such setbacks, the European Community can lay claim to successes on the eve of the elections, that only goes to show how useful cell division is.

In smaller numbers the Europeans have notched up a number of successes. They have the Airbus and the Ariane launcher rocket to their credit, and the capacity to act of the heart of Europe is indicated by the stabilising influence of the European Monetary System (EMS).

Another tribute to it is the decision to reduce and simplify customs formalities on the Franco-German border.

The success rate of partial ventures in Europe is not enough to make voters enthusiastic about the sum total. The long-overdue reform of the EEC calls for cooperation on the part of all the Ten.

The European Parliament could have a part to pay in changing the course of a Europe that could be seen as a cumbersome supertanker.

Over the past five years Euro-MPs have sought to set standards by drawing up plans for a European Union. But so many utopian ideas have been aired that voters' hearts were unlikely to miss a beat. Much more hard work is needed before they are likely to do so.

Newly-elected Euro-MPs would do well not to regard their election as a vote of thanks. Voters were not expressing gratitude. They were merely doing their civic duty and, possibly for the last time, testifying to the hopes they place in Europe.

This is a message governments would do well to heed. It means more for the future than all manner of domestic interpretations of the election results.

Dieter Buhl
(Die Zeit, 15 June 1984)

Dutch say yes but missiles debate goes on

By deciding in favour, in the final analysis, of missile deployment the Dutch Centre-Right coalition headed by Christian Democrat Ruud Lubbers has taken the toughest decision it has ever faced.

For four and a half years, since the December 1979 Nato dual-track decision, the Dutch have debated with increasing concern whether to accept the 48 cruise missiles that were planned to be based in Holland.

Given the clash of views within the major ruling party, the Christian Democrats, they were the only Nato country to make a proviso to the dual-track decision at the Brussels Nato summit.

The Hague made the deployment of cruise missiles in Holland subject to the course of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, but that proviso more or less ruled itself out when the Geneva talks broke down.

So new formulas had to be thought up that would leave relations with Nato untroubled as possible while satisfying to some extent both supporters and opponents of missile deployment in the Netherlands.

One suggestion was that infrastructure work should be carried out at the air base in Woensdrecht where the missiles were to be based but the missiles themselves were only to be flown in if an international crisis occurred.

Another proposal was for only a fraction of the 48 cruise missiles to be deployed.

Under the constant threat of a Cabinet crisis a compromise has at long last been agreed that again defers the decision. The final Cabinet decision is not now to be reached until November 1985.

Preparations at Woensdrecht air base are to be postponed in the meantime and the Dutch have broken ranks on Nato deadlines, with the result that the missiles will not be deployed in 1986. They cannot be stationed in Holland until the end of 1988.

That is a pat on the back for the opponents of deployment, who according to the latest polls are still a majority of the Dutch people. Both the trade unions and the churches have been overwhelmingly opposed to the missiles.

The Dutch peace movement unprecedently mobilised over half a million people, strongly backed by left-wing parties, especially Labour.

The second leg of the Cabinet decision is that the Dutch government will endorse deployment of the 48 cruise missiles if the Soviet Union deploys as much as one SS-20 more than it had stationed at the beginning of June.

Prime Minister Lubbers referred at a

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Every attempt to discuss breaking the ice in East-West relations has failed. Chernenko does not want to talk to America. He has slammed the door.

The only kind of foreign affairs policies there seem to be at the moment are on bilateral lines, but even here the Americans seem to be the exception.

It is futile to speculate if it was Chernenko himself who gave the order to pull down the shutters or whether it was the influential diplomatic old-hand Andrei Gromyko.

It is known, however, that Gromyko, the world's longest-serving foreign minister, has increased his influence since Andropov's death.

That he knows how to make capital out of this can be guaranteed.

He is a master of his profession, knows the ramifications of international politics and is an incomparable performer on the diplomatic grand piano.

Arms reduction negotiations are certainly not on his list of priorities. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher bitterly found this out on his Moscow visit. And the points Nato is prepared to discuss these days would but ease the hardening of attitudes.

The West can let economic affairs tick on, and that is, as already mentioned, a bilateral matter, that does not necessarily function without friction. Healing effects are hardly likely to come from foreign trade and technology transfer.

Chernenko, inexperienced in foreign affairs, is out to win time so he can put his own house in order and bring the socialist camp to heel.

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press conference to a signal to Moscow and to a last bid to bring about a change in the Soviet Union and persuade the Russians to end their continued missile deployment.

"We must make it clear to them that enough is enough," he said. But the Soviet Union is unlikely to be intimidated or impressed by the Dutch "threat" of deploying 48 cruise missiles.

The entire decision is reminiscent of the tale of the mouse that issued a "final warning" to the elephant.

In the final analysis the Dutch missile decision is good news for supporters of deployment. The Cabinet has demonstrated clear political readiness to go ahead with deployment and merely indicated how it might be prevented.

The VVD, a right-wing Liberal party that is a member of the ruling coalition, has every reason to be satisfied. It was always strongly in favour of deployment.

The Christian Democrats, split on the deployment issue, have again made a concession to their coalition ally, with the result that the next Cabinet crisis seems a foregone conclusion.

The solution to the missile dilemma the Dutch government feels it has found may soon come apart at the seams. It will certainly long remain a central issue in Dutch politics in view of its military, ethical and party-political aspects.

The Dutch Parliament will have the last word, and a heated debate can be expected. The Opposition has said it will hotly contest the decision.

The trade unions are outraged at the disregard for opposition by wide sections of the population. The peace movement has announced a spate of activities aimed at ensuring a clear "no" to deployment in November 1985. So the fight for peace goes on.

Hermann Bleich
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 June 1984)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

East-West relations: still knocking on closed doors

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

It is no state secret that it is in considerable confusion.

East Germany and Hungary would like to improve their trade relations with the West. Others, such as Czechosovakia, are maliciously displeased, simply because Prague, with its sterile and flunkey-like adherence to Moscow has fallen behind. Poland remains the Achille's Heel of the East Bloc. Romania is the most incalcuable member of the Warsaw Pact and Comecon.

Moscow's attempts to discipline the Socialist camp have so far been unsuccessful. Erich Honecker continues to pursue his Germany policy, vigorously putting on the breaks now and again. Hungary attracts western industry where it can. And there is no agreement among those allied with the USSR on the armaments' absurdity.

But it is in the question of armaments that the authoritative Politburo members see the only true solution. Their need for security has degenerated into mania. It is simply an illness.

Reagan's calculations seem right. He has never denied that he wanted the Russians to arm to overload their economy through defence spending. Chernenko now seems to have fallen into this trap.

This can be compared to a suicide policy.

Economically the Moscow leadership has other priorities that have been overdue for many years. They will be highlighted at this month's Comecon summit. The whole world knows that economic cooperation between the fraternal countries is not very good.

Poland expects effective support from Russia and the Bloc, because Warsaw cannot endlessly extend repayment of its Western debts and would not be allowed to do so.

Romania complains of unsatisfactory cooperation in energy and raw materials supplies, and Ceaucescu is right about this.

Finaly Russian oil does not flow as freely as it used to into the oil tanks of the socialist partners, and, into the bargain, it is dear.

This has upset the foreign trade balances of the receiver countries, in view of the energy gap, which the smaller partners do not know how to plug.

In business matters the Russians are always self-centred. They are not guided by socialist solidarity, although this is loudly proclaimed.

They would rather sign good contracts. Cash must regularly flow into the Soviet treasury, which, quite naturally, the East Bloc countries, dependent on Russian oil, are not too happy about. So they do not have much understanding of internationalism and fraternal aid, although this too is mentioned at every opportunity.

When the disagreeable and subservient Czech Premier Strougal prattles on at the Comecon summit that economic dependence on the capitalist countries must be limited, East Germany, Hungary and Romania must ask who will take their place. The Soviet Union is neither willing nor able to. Moscow's own economic shoes are pinching.

Despite this unhappy situation the elderly squad in Moscow has crept into the Cold War bunker and have decided to give the military and ideological screen preference.

This will only strengthen President Reagan's conviction that only an ever-stronger America can maintain the balance of power. This is a dangerous development.

The conservative man in the White House cannot arm his country to the teeth. He might very well destabilise Nato which in view of Bonn's soundings in Washington — not forgetting detente — and Holland's tricky tactics about the stationing of missiles, and Italy's endeavours to get the East-West conflict back into the conference hall have weakened Nato.

In the end Reagan could be standing before the ruined pile of his policies with a heavily armed America but a somewhat tattered Nato already battling with considerable economic difficulties.

On the other hand Chernenko stands behind a high missile fence, defiant, stubborn, with a washed out economy and with allies who economically creep along and thirst for economic assistance from the West.

When things have got this far both are inevitably under pressure to take up a new position, but neither has been able to find a better way to do so.

Helmut Bauer
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 12 June 1984)

Russia steps carefully in the Gulf

The various descendents of the Prophet around the Gulf have a traditional enemy. The Persians insult the people on the opposite coast of the Gulf by calling them "the lizard-eating".

There is the risk that hate and the fight for survival will turn the Gulf into a major battle field.

The United States has taken up a position. Logistic aid to the Saudi air force has made the US an indispensible assistant to Riyadh even when the Saudi royal house rejects direct operations by the Americans, but with anxious side-long glances.

Agitation in the Gulf is considerable. There is much loud talk about the Americans and the Europeans, and whisperings about the Russians.

A joint statement from the two superpowers that they will hold aloof from what happens have made Soviet activities recede into the half shadow of public opinion.

Western analysts have added a further argument to this: the leadership crisis and the fight for the succession in Moscow. The Kremlin is so involved in its own affairs and so weakened that Russia does not want to get mixed up in the Gulf or wants to influence events.

A superpower cannot ignore a region such as the Persian Gulf that is of so great a geo-political importance. And the Kremlin is not doing that.

Since the pullout of the marines from Beirut the Russians have mounted a major diplomatic offensive in the Middle East. The first outlines of this have become visible.

There is about to be an exchange of ambassadors with Egypt. King Hussein of Jordan hovers on the question of an international Middle East Conference along Moscow's lines and wants to buy more weapons from Russia.

The pro-Syrian government in Beirut also calls for an international Middle East Conference and is not prepared to follow a foreign policy other than that dictated by Damascus.

Moscow's man in Kuwait is threading together more contacts than is usual. The contact with Syria is closer than ever, since the Russians have agreed to supply Mig 29 and Mig 31 fighters and to build Syria's first nuclear power station.

And of course there was recently a Fatah delegation to be seen in Moscow, and Arafat received a message from party chief Chernenko which confirmed further support "for the Palestine Liberation Organisation under the leadership of Yasser Arafat".

The Syrians tried to convince deputy premier Aliev during his visit to Damascus that the PLO still had a role to play in the destruction of western influence in the region, and so must be united again. Since then Syria has been restrained in its attacks on Arafat.

Baghdad is again doing good business with Moscow. Here also the Russians have said they will build a new nuclear power station. "We are grateful to our Russian friends for their sincere and considerable efforts to develop economic cooperation between the two nations."

Such statements from Baghdad and acts of deliverance for the PLO establish considerable goodwill in the Middle East.

Iraq is to get the SS 21 and SS 12 missiles. With these Baghdad can hit the Iranian oil terminal on Karg Island from its own territory. And Iranian negotiators are already in Moscow sounding out relations between the two. Moscow is again relegated down the list of Iran's fiends.

The general director of the Iranian foreign ministry was received by Andrei Gromyko, and even when relations were cool between Moscow and Tehran Soviet foodstuffs were delivered without a break at Iranian rail terminals.

The Kremlin is building up a new image in the Near East. Forgotten are the days two years ago when the Israeli Army turned Russian weapons in Syrian hands into scrap iron.

Today Cairo, Amman, Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, Tehran and many sheikdoms look more and more in Moscow' direction.

The old Russian ambition of "finlandising" the Gulf and bringing the region into the East Bloc fold does not seem so impossible now as it did a few years ago.

It seems that Andrei Gromyko's arms have lengthened. He stretches out to the Gulf. The Russians who are bound to Baghdad and Tehran now could play the role of mediator.

Jürgen Liminski
(Die Welt, 8 June 1984)

■ PEOPLE

35-hour week: union chief at eye of storm

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Hans Mayr, general secretary of IG Metall, the 2.5m-strong West German iron, steel and engineering workers' union, grows steadily more important as the industrial dispute for a 35-hour week drags on.

Mayr, 63, is the union's senior strike strategist and has increasingly come to the fore in this capacity.

His public speeches leave nothing to be desired in their radicalism and determination. His Swabian dialect takes on an incisive note. His words lack nothing of the rhetorical impact trade unions expect of their leaders in such situations.

He has been general secretary since last October, but as a wage negotiator since 1963 he has weathered many a dispute on the union's behalf, although he never aspired to lead the pack in the class struggle.

He is not given to agitation on market squares and has always preferred to let others make the firebrand speeches.

He is a tactician by inclination and would sooner pull the strings from the background, at which he has been extremely successful, notching up successes for IG Metall and earning respect from the employers.

Even at the height of the present dispute his face has generally shown him to be the thoughtful but dogged negotiator he has always been.

It is, perhaps, typical of his foresight that at the union's 1977 conference he (and his predecessor, Eugen Loderer) advised against nailing the 35-hour week to the mast.



Hans Mayr and message
(Photos: Sven Simon)

He wanted to keep union policy flexible, in vain as it happened, but the present situation looks as though it could well prove he was right.

The 35-hour week is now dogma in IG Metall, and a policy objective pursued fanatically, which makes it that much more difficult to arrive at a compromise.

Yet Mayr is a man who learnt tolerance and respect for the views of others from his childhood. His father was an engineering worker who studied and went on to become a judge and a senior civil servant.

So the family combined "proletarian" origins and bourgeois emancipation by virtue of intelligence, and son Hans was a white-collar worker before embarking on a trade union career.

His father, a Social Democrat, was arrested by the Nazis, which deeply influenced him. He has since been strongly committed to democracy and opposed to totalitarianism in any form.

In all probability he is none too keen on the course events have taken and on the extremism that has increasingly gained the upper hand. He is far too

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At 60, a public prosecutor looks to a bright future

A Swabian band welcomed guests at the reception given by Kurt Rebmann, director of public prosecutions, on his 60th birthday at his office in Karlsruhe.

They included Baden-Württemberg Prime Minister Lothar Späth and Education and Science Minister Helmut Engler (who in 1977 took over from Herr Rebmann as a senior civil servant at the Justice Ministry), both from Stuttgart.

Guests from Bonn included Klaus Kinkel, state secretary at the Justice Ministry, and Günter Ermisch, state secretary at the Defence Ministry, and many other public figures.

Heilbronn-born Rebmann, who describes himself as a decided Swabian, hosted roughly 125 guests at his own expense.

This decidedly un-Swabian public relations venture prompts suspicions that Herr Rebmann at 60 might feel he is by no means too old to go on to even greater things.

It is rumoured in Bonn that he only took on the dangerous job of director of public prosecutions on being given an assurance that he would take over as chief justice of the Federal Supreme Court when Gerd Pfeiffer retires.

That is a theoretical possibility. When Pfeiffer retires aged 68 at the end of 1987 Rebmann will be 63.

He certainly doesn't lack the vitality and self-assurance needed for the job. Since taking over in Karlsruhe in mid-1977 he has substantially increased his department's manpower and improved its efficiency.

In Karlsruhe and West Berlin the DPP's staff number 565. He runs them with the emphasis on authority rather than liberality. Whenever possible decisions are taken immediately. His desk is always tidy.

His readiness to reach decisions

Kurt Rebmann and badge of office

and his sense of organisation leaves him time to spend on other activities. Three times a semester he flies by helicopter to Konstanz, where he holds a chair of criminal law.

He lectures on criminal law proceedings and notes with satisfaction that his lectures have yet to be interrupted by student demonstrators.

He is head of the Academy of Transport in Hamburg, which organises the annual conferences of judges and lawyers specialising in traffic cases.

He is chairman of the Württemberg Prisoners' Aid Society, co-editor of the Munich commentary on the Federal Constitutional Court and author of the section dealing with family law.

"I hold liberal views on divorce but conservative ones on criminal law," he readily admits.

He has come to terms with the personal restrictions that surround him as the best-guarded civil servant in Germany. For safety's sake he continues to commute between Stuttgart, his home, and Karlsruhe, where he has an apartment in a police barracks.

But he insists on not missing the Bundesliga home games of his local soccer club, VfB Stuttgart.

Why did he take on the DPP's job after the assassination of his predecessor, Siegfried Buback, in 1977? "Because it gave me an opportunity of making a fundamental contribution toward the internal and external security of the state. I have always had a very positive viewpoint on law and order."

Maybe that is why he is on such good terms with America. On his office wall there is a deed appointing him honorary superintendent of the New York state penitentiary system. He is also entitled to call himself Prison Guard No. 15 at Sing-Sing.

"No-one knows US top-security prisons from within better than I do," he says with a smile. In his days at the Justice Ministry in Stuttgart he was responsible for designing the Stammheim jail and court complex.

He would still build it to the same design. "From the security viewpoint it is ideal, and it certainly creates an objective atmosphere for court proceedings," he says.

Claus Donath
(Mannheimer Morgen, 30 May 1984)

Helmut Haussmann, 41, said a year after he was elected to the Bundestag in 1977 that he shared the progressive views of those to the left of the party.

He is now FDP general secretary, but in the view of friends and foes alike he has taken up a position in the centre.

Yet he cannot be called an opportunist, nor is he an intimate friend of the FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

He was born in Württemberg, and he has never been numbered among the favourites in the new party administration that was set up by Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer in the two years she was in office. For months Hans-Dietrich Genscher tried to make the former state secretary in the North Rhine-Westphalian Interior Ministry, Karl Friedrich Brodesser, acceptable to the FDP.

But the leadership did the same to Genscher as was done in the amnesty affair and did not go along with the party leader.

Helmut Haussmann is well thought of in almost all sectors of the FDP. The party will not have difficulties with its new general secretary nor he with the party. Whether that will be the case with the party chairman is another matter.

Genscher would prefer to have "a secretary" rather than "a general" at the party's head office in Bonn. Just as it was in the two years Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer was general secretary.

New man in charge of FDP business

It is certain that Haussmann will not just be the organiser and executor of Genscher's directions.

Haussmann, who studied business affairs and graduated from the economics faculty of Nuremberg University, is far too much the politician.

As soon as he was nominated he said that he would set out to give the FDP a new image. Many Free Democrats who were against the change to the CDU in 1982, such as Gerhart Baum, heard this with pleasure.

Baum, former Interior Minister in the SPD-FDP coalition government, said that "a new wind would be blowing in the chimney".

Helmut Haussmann, the FDP's spokesman on economic affairs, did not exert himself too much when it came to giving up the alliance with the SPD.

On the contrary he did all he could to avoid the break and to maintain close contacts with Social Democrats that later the party dropped.

Whether Haussmann will have time





Helmut Haussmann (right) and party chief Genscher.

for his economic ambitions when he has taken over the "hot seat," as Genscher describes the general secretary's job, remains to be seen.

Since 1978 Haussmann has lectured in Nuremberg on the theme "Management in medium-sized companies." If his political work is too much the lectures will have to be taken over by business management students.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 30 May 1984)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Making up for lost time in the bustling market-places of South-East Asia

In almost every country in South-East Asia, the EEC runs third behind Japan and the United States as a trading partner.

The only exception is Indonesia, where it beat the United States into second place, according to the latest figures available, 1982.

Yet economic growth in South-East Asia and countries of the Pacific Basin is fast and its potential outstrips Europe's.

Peter Jungen, of PHB Weserhütte, a Cologne industrial plant group, says the Asean market (Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand) has a combined population of 266 million and has for 10 years been second only to the Gulf states in economic growth.

Jungen says West Germany has been slow on the uptake. This seems to be in the process of being remedied. Leading West German politicians and industrialists have been beating a path to the Pacific Basin.

Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff visited South Korea, Economic Development Minister Jürgen Warnke Singapore, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher Thailand and President Carstens on his last state visit toured Indonesia and Thailand.

Four months earlier Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl was in Djakarta to show German interest in Indonesia, with its population of 154 million.

At almost the same time an industrial delegation headed by Rolf Rodenstock, head of the Confederation of German Industry, toured Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand.

"People really do seem to be treading a beaten path to that part of the world these days," says Herbert Brenke of Thyssen Rheinstahl Technik.

Officials are not on their own in feeling the call of the East. In April scores of exhibitors at the German industrial fair in Tokyo took the opportunity of flying over to Korea while they were there.

"More senior executives came to Seoul than had visited the country in the previous three years," says Florian Schuffner of the Korean-German Chamber of Commerce.

Airlines are doing record business. "You often have difficulty in booking a seat to South-East Asia or the Far East," says Jörg Wiegand of Oberland Glas, a Bavarian firm specialising in turnkey glassworks that is doing good business with Thailand in particular.

Lufthansa, keen to cut in on this spate of executive class bookings, are to fly regularly to Korea from this autumn.

There are good reasons why the Germans have discovered Asean and the advanced threshold countries Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong as markets with a future when they have.

South American countries are so deep in debt they can be written off as markets for industrial goods made in Germany until further notice.

In the wake of declining oil revenues orders from the Middle East are coming in very slowly, whereas economic growth in the Pacific basin countries is expected to far outstrip Western Europe's.

South-East Asian markets, unlike the Middle East after the oil price booms of

DIE ZEIT

1973 and 1979, are to a large extent firmly dominated by Germany's keenest competitors in export markets.

The sole exception is Indonesia, where Europe in 1982 came second, with 18.2 per cent of exports to Japan's 28.3 per cent.

In the most advanced South-East Asian and Far Eastern markets the European Community is an also-ran, accounting for 10.3 per cent of exports to Singapore, 7.2 per cent of exports to Taiwan and 6.8 per cent of exports to South Korea.

The Federal Republic of Germany may be the foremost exporter to South-East Asia among EEC countries, but a meagre 2.7 per cent of German exports go to the region. Even more alarmingly, our neighbours have steadily gained ground for years.

Between 1976 and 1981 West German companies may have stepped up exports to South-East Asia by 119 per cent, but Italian companies boosted exports by 216 per cent.

Western Europe's low profile in the Pacific, which everyone agrees to be the market of the future, is even more readily apparent when direct investments are compared.

It accounts for a mere 14 per cent of accumulated capital outlay by foreign investors, trailing the United States, with 16 per cent, and the Japanese, with 32 per cent. The Asean region accounts for a mere 1.3 per cent of West German investment abroad.

In accordance with a detailed strategy agreed between government and industry the Japanese have largely gained control over entire industries in countries on their doorstep. Their strategy has been a brilliant success in the motor industry, for instance.

Three out of four imported cars in South-East Asia are Japanese, while local carmakers are largely dependent on leading Japanese manufacturers.

Five of Taiwan's seven motor manufacturers, for example, cooperate closely with Japanese carmakers and are thus strongly influenced by them. And that is not all.

They are run along Japanese lines, with the emphasis on vertical concentration. A group of component manufacturers make parts exclusively for the leading carmakers.

Most other car markets in the region are similarly subject to Japanese influence. Malaysia, for instance, plans to build a "national" car that will, starting next year, run off the assembly lines of a company in which Mitsubishi hold a 30-per-cent stake. The new Malaysian car is expected to end up cornering 60 per cent of the home market.

The Japanese are so near to neighbouring Asian markets that they gain easier access and export advantages over the West by buying commodities, especially petroleum and farm produce, in bulk.

They can rely on the clout and experience of their major trading companies, which work hand in hand with a wide range of industrial and banking interests and can manage virtually singlehandedly even the most intricate deals and financial arrangements.

The Japanese have no hesitation in offering unbeatable credit terms for keenly-contested large contracts in order to keep European and American competitors out of the running.

For large-scale projects in Thailand and the underground railway in Singapore they have offered 30-year loans at 4.5 per cent interest, with no capital repayments due for an initial decade.

As a result the Europeans were left virtually empty-handed when contracts were placed. "When the Japanese go all out," Herr Brenke soberly says, "we are pretty well out of the running."

Thyssen were awarded the contract to build a factory in Indonesia, for instance, solely because they arranged for concessional credit facilities outside Germany. In return they had to farm out sub-contract work to companies in these other countries.

Wolf Carstanjen of M. M. Warburg-Brinckmann, Wirtz & Co., the Hamburg bankers, is a credit specialist with five years experience of Indonesia. "Not a single screw is imported from Germany any longer," he says.

The Europeans also have to work harder and harder to get a look-in at the few power station contracts that are put out to tender these days, such as two 400-megawatt coal-fired power stations for Indonesia.

Nearly all the world's leading manufacturers are competing for this particular contract: from General Electric and Westinghouse to Mitsubishi, from Ansaldo and Franco Tosi of Italy to Parsons of Britain and Brown, Boveri & Cie and Kraftwerk Union, the Siemens subsidiary.

German firms seldom get a look-in at orders for conventional power stations nowadays, whereas Japanese companies such as Mitsubishi, Hitachi and Toshiba corner one contract after another.

Where nuclear power stations are concerned, Japanese companies cannot yet supply the contract in full, merely in part. But German firms face competition mainly from the United States.

Take nuclear power stations built or planned in Korea. Six were built (or are to be built) by Westinghouse, two by France and a heavy-water reactor by Canada.

In Taiwan, the second South-East Asian country to have entered the nuclear age, Washington has wielded political pressure to ensure that all six nuclear power stations so far ordered have been ordered from US firms.

Europe faces increasingly fierce competition from within South-East Asia. In Korea, Hyundai are in the running for power station contracts.

South Korea's Trade and Industry Minister told German firms in Bonn recently that his country planned to step up engineering and electronics output with a view to exporting more to less developed neighbouring countries.

It is an uphill struggle for manufacturers in European Community countries. The competition is better placed strategically.

Carl-Heinz Illies, president of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce and co-owner of a firm that mainly sells German machinery to Asia, has called for a "long-term immediate strategy."

In practice there are often insuperable obstacles to putting such well-meant advice into effect. Governments of countries in the Pacific region seldom miss an opportunity of calling on European visitors to step up direct investment, but most countries discourage foreign investors by a jungle of regulations that are often discriminatory as well as restrictive.

This even occurs in Indonesia, where German technology is highly regarded and Industry Minister Professor Habibie was trained in Aachen and rose to the position of R & D manager at a Hamburg aircraft works that is now part of the Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm group.

German firms are said by the Mechanical Engineering and Plant Manufacturers' Association in Frankfurt am Main to face "an abundance of investment obstacles" in Indonesia.

It is not just that the foreign investor in a joint venture has to limit his shareholding to 49 per cent after 10 years and that the company has to buy materials and parts from local suppliers.

It is little short of grotesque that while foreign investment is officially more than welcome, foreign executives often find it extremely difficult to get a work permit because the Indonesians prefer to do everything themselves.

Yet the Europeans' performance in the aviation industry shows they can still do good business when they have top-flight technology to sell.

Four dozen A 300 Airbuses have been sold to seven countries in the region (only Hong Kong is still marked white on the map), successfully challenging Boeing, McDonnell Douglas and Lockheed.

The BO 105 helicopter, from MBB of Munich, is manufactured under licence in the Philippines and Indonesia, while MBB have agreed with Djakarta to set up a joint venture to develop and construct a smaller helicopter.

In spite of such successes and even harder efforts the outlook for German industry as it seeks to make good lost ground in the Pacific is far from promising.

"Unless we succeed in finding products we can sell there competitively," says Ferrostaal's chief executive, "we will be unlikely to sell much more."

Most countries in the region have in any case abandoned, or at least postponed, attractive large-scale projects for lack of funds.

Realists such as Ferrostaal's Singer feel the entire Pacific euphoria is wildly unrealistic. "We can be happy to hold on to what we already have," he says.

Hans Otto Eglau
(Die Zeit, 15 June 1984)

Continued from page 4

shrewd not to realise the difficulties that could result.

But wage disputes in such large, almost unmanageable organisations are a law unto themselves. Hans Mayr, democrat and trade union leader, knows they always end in a compromise of some sort. But even for him there are limits to what tactics can achieve.

Will he be able to put his views across to union members with the skill he has always shown in wage negotiation? Much will depend in the present dispute on the answer to this question.

Ernst Günter Vetter
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 June 1984)

■ LABOUR

350,000 idle as effect of strike spreads

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The campaign of selective strikes by IG Metall, the engineering employees union, involves 57,000 workers. Another 65,000 have been locked out.

But with layoffs, mainly in the heavily affected motor industry, a total of 350,000 workers are idle.

The strike, in support of a 35-hour working week, has hit five of West Germany's car manufacturers hard. Only Ford is not being badly hit. Some estimates say the industry is losing sales of DM700m a day.

Among the laid-off workers are 40,000 at BMW. They must live from their savings or turn to social security, because they get no strike money.

There is a mood of anger among some. Some, themselves IG Metall members, even talk of leaving the union. Many wish the company had locked them out rather than laid them off, because they then would be able to claim pay from IG Metall.

In the end when both sides are round the negotiating table they will learn what has been learned before that it is easy to slip into a labour dispute or provoke one, but it is difficult to end the conflict.

The employers who took the gamble that the fundamentals of the labour dispute, the reduced working week, were totally impossible or not possible for some time, are now faced with the same barriers as the trades union leadership. A settlement negotiated on both sides must be approved by a ballot, and, of course, by the employers.

Trades union leaders and employer representatives will both say, in justification of their behaviour, that the dispute was bitter and expensive but it could not be avoided. That can be contradicted.

Both sides were unwilling to talk sensibly with one another and to take their responsibility for wage autonomy with a sense of proportion, instead of swinging the strike club.

Many people have accepted the line, pushed out by politicians in the present government, that the unions are at fault and responsible for the strike.

This partisanship is objectionable.

The right to strike, even when the aim of the strike is foolish, is an inalienable right in West Germany.

Government politicians should not strengthen the tendency to brand striking as a crime. Employers are not defenceless. And when they have for so long stuck to the view that a four-week long strike is not as bad as a minute's reduction in the time worked then the responsibility for the strike is well and truly revealed.

No one knows, as an observer, if the engineering employers in Bavaria and other places not directly in the strike area, would have carried through the threat to extend lock-outs, if Labour Minister, Norbert Blüm, had not intervened and warned about this intensification of the dispute.

Had he not intervened, however, all member unions of the Trades Union Federation would have stuck by their threat to support IG Metall and IG Druck und Papier, the printers union — they are now, however, maintaining a cautious distance from the dispute.

The action taken by the printers will not diminish the relative strong rejection there is of the striking unions among the population as a whole. It will not be popular preventing newspapers from appearing.

The printers union belongs to the left-wing of the Trades Union Federation, and dubs the other unions disparagingly as "soft-footed".

When deep ideological ditches are dug by the printers union it is no wonder that the atmosphere round the negotiating table is more tense than it is with other unions. It is only fair that each union should decide for itself where to draw the line.

The IG Metall imputation that the government will set armed frontier officials or even soldiers against striking union members is one of the worst blunders that have been made on the fringe of the dispute.

When IG Metall represents an insensitive exercise by frontier officials in Sennelager as a putsch from the right, they have stepped beyond the realms of reason.

How will the dispute end? The employers stand by their demand to IG Metall that the working week should remain at 40 hours. They have, however, offered a 38-hour flexible week to the 850,000 shift workers in the engineering industry — a figure calculated by the employers and which represents 23 per cent of the total labour force in the industry.

On the other hand the unions have so reduced their demands that employers can no longer talk of impossible fin- ancial burdens. The narrow rift that separates the two sides no longer justifies the continuation of the dispute.

Peter Diehl-Thiele

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 June 1984)

The pros and cons of early retirement

General-Anzeiger

No compromise is in sight in the fight for the 35-hour week. A great divide separates striking unions and the employers.

If the reduction of the working week as a means of combating unemployment causes such problems, what then about that other idea to soak up the queues of jobless? That is, early retirement, at 60, for example, instead of 63.

The trades unions wages commission and civil service associations give priority to this proposal as a solution to labour market problems.

The basic idea is that elderly workers should voluntarily go into retirement before the official retirement age, so as to open up jobs for young unemployed people.

The advocates of this solution maintain that if half of the elderly people retired at 58 then employers would be obliged to take on about 500,000.

When workers go voluntarily into retirement at 58 or 60, as the experts have proposed, they would do so at a reduced pension. An early retirement pension would be about seven per cent less for every year of early retirement below the full pensionable age.

A person who ceases to work at 60 would get 21 per cent less pension than a person who retired at 63 — and that would be for the rest of his life.

A spokesman for the Labour Ministry said that this alternative solution to unemployment was not really on since pension funds could not be adjusted to meet this discrepancy and the loss to a person taking early retirement was too considerable. A fair statement of the situation in view of the fact that pension insurance is living from hand to mouth.

Nevertheless the first step to shorten working life has already been taken. The early retirement measures approved recently makes it possible for both sides to agree a reduction. These measures involve all who are 58 and over.

A worker taking early retirement gets 65 per cent of his last gross pay. If the employer takes on an unemployed person as a replacement 35 per cent of the cost would be refunded by the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg. Contributions for pension and health insurance would be defrayed by employer and employee on a fifty-fifty basis.

The 65 per cent of the last gross wage is a minimum limit that can be exceeded by a wage negotiation. The food industry and catering union, for example, has concluded a national agreement for early retirement: workers who take pension at 58 receive 75 per cent of their gross monthly wage, that is about 80 per cent of the net monthly pay.

The advantage of early retirement is that it doesn't put more strain on pension insurance. Costs are more or less shifted to the employer.

In view of this considerable financial burden it is reasonable to ask if the idea would really contribute to reducing unemployment.

Sceptics say not. Their reason is that a company's decision to take on new people is made after considering the commercial position. The decision would be based on cost considerations and an economic predictions.

But in places where it will be essential to take on new people it will be hard for many companies to find in the regional labour market qualified people — and the same holds true for a reduced working week.

No worker is obliged to go into early retirement with the measures introduced, but in those companies that are doing well and need to increase their workforce there would be moral pressure on elderly workers to retire against their will.

It would be hard to resist this "concealed compulsion" of "solidarity with young unemployed people". Bonn psychologist Professor Ursula Lehr said: "We are in danger of mobilising an army of discontented old men."

A glance at the immediate future shows how difficult it will be to introduce a shortened working life, particularly in view of the changes to the age structure in our population. The time will come in the next century when older people will again be needed.

In 1980 out of a hundred on the labour market between the ages of 20 and 60, over 38 were over sixty. But in 2000 there will be 45 over sixty.

Twenty years later in 2030 from every hundred fit for work no less than ... will be over the age of 60.

It is conceivable that then people will have to work more and for longer or the number of qualified guest workers will have to increase.

Hermann Edmund Eb...

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 8 June 1984)

Union deal to end work at 58

The textiles union is the second Trade Union Federation member to come to an agreement with employers about early retirement in this year's wage negotiations.

The construction (IG Bau) and the chemicals, paper and ceramics unions (IG Chemie) are negotiating for this. IG Metall, the engineering workers union has rejected the employers offer that workers can take early retirement on reaching the age of 58.

There are differences in approach. The details are:

Textiles: Workers aged 58 and who have worked for the company at least five years can take early retirement at 75 per cent of their last gross wage. Special payments such as Christmas bonus and holiday money will be taken into consideration. The union explains that the early retirement pay amounts to about 80 per cent of the last net salary. If more than two per cent of the workforce goes for early pension then the employers and the employees must amicably agree this. The underwear industry union has achieved its aim that in cases of dispute the matter will be taken to arbitration for a final decision.

Catering: The same applies in this sector; 75 per cent of the last gross wage for early retirement pension, but special payments will not be taken into consideration. In the agreement between the union and the employers association an employee must have worked in the company at least ten years before he or she can apply for early retirement. Most of the associa- tions in this branch have signed the agreement that has provisions in it for replacing staff who retire.

Banking: The union has concluded an agreement that bank staff after ten years with a bank can retire one year earlier, and after twenty years' employment they can retire two years earlier. This is again at a pension 75 per cent of the gross salary.

The engineering industry employers have offered: Workers at 58 can take early retirement with a pension of 65 per cent of pay after they have been with the company for more than five years. For those who have worked for twenty years with the company with early retirement pension is 70 per cent of the last gross pay.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 9 June 1984)

Calling it a day

Percentage of men aged 60-64 no longer working

Country	%
Austria	74
Italy	62
France	60
Holland	57
West Germany	56
Denmark	47
USA	44
Sweden	32
Japan	24
Switz.	17

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■ THE ECONOMY

Growth on line, but niggling signs of a slowdown begin to emerge

Christ und Welt Rheinischer Merkur

West Germany's economy will grow this year, probably about 3.5 per cent, says the chairman of the Bundesbank, Karl-Otto Pöhl.

However signs have appeared that a slowdown is on the way. The signs were there before the engineering workers' strike began.

In the first quarter this year, gross national product grew 3.4 per cent and, in addition, requirements for future growth improved.

Profits and expected profits have improved. West German firms improved their competitiveness on international markets, as can be seen from increased exports.

Wage settlements range between 3.3 and 3.4 per cent for 1984 so that there is enough leeway for employers to improve profits and invest more.

Nevertheless recently the Bundesbank research institutes have adopted a cautious approach to the economic future.

This only marginally due to the strike. A weak period occurred at the end of the first quarter not only in industrial production but also in orders received. In production and incoming orders there was a four per cent decline in March. The Economic Affairs Ministry spoke of a slight slip up.

In an analysis the Bundesbank mentioned temporary influences such as winter weather, late Easter and wage disputes. The bank tried to play down the importance of the fall off in economic activity by producing a summary excluding seasonal influences.

The latest Ifo (Munich) economic survey indicated that the economic climate had cooled off. Latest results show that the position in the processing industries had worsened in April.

The results of the Ifo survey show that not only the employers' optimism has waned but that effective production in April had had to be throttled back. The Munich economic researchers take the view that production plans for next month are at stagnation levels.

Slagging economic activity is not to be feared. In several sectors respectable growth is expected, the chemicals industry is up seven per cent, communications technology up ten per cent and even in engineering and automobile production the outlook does not look too gloomy.

The outlook for exports looks good. There is no confirmation of a decline of foreign orders because the strike has harmed the ability to deliver.

The trade balance in March showed a surplus of DM4.5 billion, which is a respectable result. The April surplus of DM2.6 billion did not cover the losses recorded by the serice industries so that the April current account balance was in minus.

Activity in the construction industry has declined. There has been a marked drop in orders since last autumn and there are only enough to cover two months, which is a similar level to the recession year of 1982.

But the industry does expect an increase over the entire year. This would be mainly due to an improvement compared with the bad period beginning at the end of 1982.

However, the Central Association of the West German Construction Industry says the industry is heading for stagnation, if not recession.

Public works are becoming more and more a problem child. Medium-term financial planning for building projects from 1980 to 1987 has been cut back fifty per cent for local authorites.

The builders association whose members are mainly small tradesmen firms and medium-sized organisations takes the view that over the next few years companies must cut back their capacities and adjust to the changed structure of the building industry.

For the workforce this means the loss of 150,000 jobs in building.

The only bright spot in this dull scenario is that in the future clients will not have to reckon with price increases. A survey of employers shows that for months their has been no price pressure.

Less pleasing is that there has been a slight increase in the cost of financing. The euphoria of a few weeks ago on the capital markets has sobered down. Borrowers must now pay over eight per cent interest. Here too no improvement is in sight, for in the past few weeks there has been a strong increase in international interest rates.

West Germany has managed to keep clear of this development without coming to too much harm.

Investment interest difference between the US dollar and the deutschmark is something morethan five per cent. Bank rate here is four per cent and in the USA it is nine per cent. If West Germany can afford this disparity for much longer is anyone's guess.

It seems that the Bundesbank is uncertain about economic growth and regards the srtrike as serious the current strike so it will not consider interest rate rises. This could change.

It cannot be denied that our economy, so interwoven with foreign trade is dependent on foreign interest rate developments. The ups and downs of the exchange rate have their effect. This factor cannot be neglected by the Bundesbank when considering its monetary policies.

Here Bundesbank reactions cannot be entirely ignored, if rates abroad should rise even further — as predicted by some of the "gurus".

A further slide down of the deutschmark exchange rate cannot be expected in the immediate future. But this would be hard to bear for it would mean an increase in import prices — recently a good six per cent — and the corresponding effect on consumer prices.

Friedhelm Ost

(Reinische Merkur/Christ und Welt, 8 June 1984)

Don't blame strikers for bad news, says left-wing group

The expected economic downswing is not a result of the engineering workers' strike, say a group of left-wing economists.

The group, known as the Alternative Professors, say the decline is due rather due to a slackening of consumer demand.

In a special memorandum issued in Bonn the economists said that the decline in the middle of medium-term growth development was due to chronic overcapacity and checked consumer demand.

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

The employers' view that the 35-hour week would be ruinous could not be supported.

On the one hand the employment of more workers would lead to a modest increase in costs, but on the other hand there would be cost relief because as a result of high pay and wages there would be greater consumer demand and production.

The net result of increased costs and cost relief would, they say, in the main neither harm profits nor West German companies' capacity to compete on international markets.

Those who said otherwise were more concerned with isolating and weakening the trade unions, according to the academics.

The reduction of the working week would stop plans for dismantling social benefits and democratic co-determination rights, and jeopardise the econonic status of workers.

Since early 1983 the economy had not recovered the way government and employers had said it had.

The real impetus for economic growth over the past few years had come from stock-piling and private consumption.

But private consumption had not been related to an increase in mass consumption, but by drawing on savings.

Indeed over the past eighteen months there had been a considerable increase in industrial capacity, so that compared with weak consumer demand there had been considerable overcapacities so that the powerful push of further investment, the traditional main driving force of an economic upswing, has not worked this time.

(Handelsblatt, 8 June 1984)

■ AVIATION

Crashes raise question of military aircraft controls

A series of military aircraft accidents has raised serious questions about control over Nato aircraft in West Germany.

Within one week, a Dutch jet crashed into the outskirts of the small Rhine town of Linz; a British bomber in an air show at Aschaffenburg exploded and a spectator was hit by part of the ejection seat; and a pilotless French Mirage was shot down by another French military plane, possibly in West German air space, and crashed near Karlsruhe.

Not only West German Luftwaffe planes but also aircraft from seven other Western countries regularly fly through West German air space, frightening animals and people with supersonic flights, or thundering through the skies at an altitude of only 75 metres.

The Western allies use to the full the Nato troop statute that grants them the right to mount "manoeuvres and other exercises" so that they can fulfill the defence obligations.

This right is in fact subject to the regulations governing the use of West German air space.

That there are accidents such as that in Linz, Aschaffenburg and Karlsruhe as a result of the 700,000 flights made annually by the West German Luftwaffe and the Allies is to be regretted but it cannot be avoided, according to an Luftwaffe statement.

The West German Luftwaffe declines to comment on the number of plane crashes in West German air space there were in the past year involving West German or Allied military aircraft.

Newspaper readers must themselves add up the number of crash reports, it would seem.

The mayor of Linz am Rhein has for years complained about the noise of West German and Allied military aircraft overflying his town. Is it likely that he can now, after the air crash, hope for a complete discontinuance or a reduction of military flights over the town?

No. In order to exercise for total combat conditions the Luftwaffe must fly low-level over such townships.

A spokesman for the Luftwaffe said at a press conference after the accident at Linz: "The number of complaints about noise is not decisive."

The Luftwaffe argues that the possibilities of drastically reducing the number of tactical exercises, by day and by night, in all kinds of weather, out of consideration for the population, were considerably limited.

No assurances could be given about low-level supersonic exercises either.

The Air Force has made it known that supersonic training flights (they can involve an 80-kilometre wide flight path) are only made at altitudes of not less than 11,000 metres and only during work days excluding the mid-day break.

There are many limitations on low-levelflying. Sixty-nine major cities, many airports and a few controlled areas cannot be overflown. Low-level flights can only be made from Monday to Friday and from seven in the morning to five in the evening, and at levels not below 150 metres, and in sparsely populated areas at an altitude not less than 75 metres. These regulations are in effect for West German and Allied military aircraft.

Is it likely that there will be any reduction of military aircraft flights in West German air space, or at least over heavily populated areas in the future? Not much.

According to a Luftwaffe spokesman any further limitations would harm West German and Allied pilot training.

"The threat posed by the military forces of a presumed opponent make West Germany a possible area for operations for low-level armed enemy aircraft," says General Günter Raulf.

"This means that Nato's air forces must be geographically and weatherwise at home in this considerable area." "So we have to exercise in a realistic manner over West German territory." *dpa*

(Mannheimer Morgen, 13 June 1984)



Harrier explodes at air show

Dramatic moment as a Royal Air Force Harrier vertical-take-off fighter bursts into flames during a hover demonstration at an air show in Aschaffenburg, Bavaria. The pilot ejected safely but an onlooker was hit by part of the ejection seat apparatus.

(Photo: dpa)

Feathering the props

Birds caused four billion deutschmarks' worth of damage worldwide last year to aircraft landing or taking off, according to the working group of airport ecology, meeting in Bonn.

About a tenth of the 10,000 reported cases of bird damage were in West Germany. This is two per cent lower than in the previous year.

The Luftwaffe lost no aircraft last year through accidents involving birds. Normally, they lose four or five aircraft a year this way.

Gerhard Schade, chairman of the working group said that ecological measures had helped. He quoted the instance of the Cologne-Bonn airport where the number of birds had been heavily reduced. *dpa*

(Die Welt, 15 May 1984)

Pilots list the airports and their faults

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Five of West Germany's ten commercial airports are unsatisfactory, according to the International Pilots Association (IFALPA).

Saarbrücken and Stuttgart get the worst reports.

The judgment was issued by the West German Pilots Association, Cockpit, which has 2,042 members.

According to the pilots' spokesman Horst Gehlen there were a few problems in Saarbrücken and Stuttgart stemming from particular features of the area.

The IFALPA lists airports with "red stars", meaning very unsatisfactory when air safety is inadequate or the approach is dangerous, when prevailing weather conditions are difficult, when pilots, because of noise pollution, have only a limited choice of runway or when the air space is over-crowded.

Frankfurt, Hamburg and Bremen were listed as "unsatisfactory", although West German pilots admit that efforts have been made in the meantime to improve the situation. Up until 1983 Hamburg's airport was listed as "very unsatisfactory".

Frankfurt is indeed not listed as good, but the pilots association said that with the construction of runway west, at present under way, and the re-conditioning of north runway, Frankfurt will soon be taken off the unsatisfactory list.

The main complaint with Bremen is the landing runway. The end of a runway should be without hindrance.

No comment has been made about Cologne-Bonn, Munich, Düsseldorf, Hanover or Nuremberg.

In explanation of the IFALPA list Flight Captain Detlef Kracht said: "The criticism of West German airports by the International Pilots Association does not mean that the airports are unsafe.

"But these defects make flying more difficult, give the pilot an added burden, increase noise because of in-flight operations and in many cases cause increased costs for the airport. The list is published to aid pilots." *dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 May 1984)

■ THE ARTS

The Karajan affair: more than just one sour note

West Berlin's culture senator, Volker Hassemer, has not given up hope that the Herbert von Karajan affair will eventually be straightened out.

But Karajan's decision to invite the Vienna Philharmonic to Salzburg in place of the Berlin Philharmonic was an affront that has rather put paid to any hopes of reconciliation.

Either the orchestra had to knuckle down and retain the disliked director Peter Girth, and so lose face, or Karajan could not preserve his own and let Girth go, and when not expressed in so many words, accept the blame.

But both sides are too obstinate to give way so dramatically, so Karajan's official resignation is expected soon.

This is more, of course, than the eruption of many small grouses that have built up over years of working together. It is more than just a cabal formed by some of the orchestra members.

And recently it has appeared that it is more than the dispute that has arisen by the engagement of the solo clarinettist Sabine Meyer, whom Karajan pressured

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Girth into engaging for a trial period. Sabine Meyer voluntarily gave up her position in the orchestra hoping to restore peace between Karajan and the orchestra.

What is being debated is the orchestra's hundred-year independence that was celebrated with much fanfare two years ago.

The unique independence of the orchestra that gives to the orchestra members a say in important decisions was no longer compatible with Herbert von Karajan's autocratic attitudes at the conductor's desk.

Karajan had gradually got used to having absolute domination over musical matters and a say in matters that did not directly concern music, and the orchestra freely let him have his way.

After years of considerable international success the two were bound together, body and soul, in a life-long contract when Karajan was 65, stipulating that only Karajan himself could break the contract, not the orchestra or the West Berlin Senate. He is now 76.

The artistic marriage between Karajan and the orchestra was very profitable. At the same time as the Karajan contract the state-subsidised Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra began to make music under the name of the Berlin Philharmonic making on its own account LP records and working for the audio-visual media under its chief conductor.

The West Berlin Senate and public opinion regarded this with mixed feelings, since the private activities threatened more and more to overshadow the orchestra's official engagements, although this was also fame for the city.

Karajan was convinced that the orchestra would not kill off the goose that was laying the golden eggs, otherwise perhaps he would not have gone so far.

No matter how magical Karajan's name may be, the orchestra is brilliant enough to maintain its reputation under another chief conductor if the right man is chosen. Officially this theme is totally taboo.

But the new chief conductor, be he Ricardo Muti, Seiji Ozawa or Lorin Mazel is not likely to accept a situation when orchestra members engage in so many other activities, particularly chamber music, and only play with the orchestra sporadically.

In fact the ominous chamber orchestra, a problem for Karajan, has been brought into the open.

It was set out definitively last year that only a maximum of thirty could participate in chamber music, and that only thirty orchestra members could take part in a chamber concert planned for New York in October.

A limitation of subsidiary work, no matter how lucrative it might be, was unavoidableif the orchestra's quality was to be maintained.

It is always sad when a long period of artistic brilliance has to come to such a

Continued on page 11



Herbert von Karajan . . . autocratic
(Photo: Sven S...)

Mexican wins booksellers' peace prize

Octavio Paz, the Mexican poet and essayist, has been awarded the West German Booksellers' Peace Prize. He is the first Mexican to get the award in its 34-year history.

He will be presented with the prize at the end of the Frankfurt Book Fair on 7 October. It carries carries a cash award of DM25,000.

Paz fought against Franco in the Spanish Civil War and lost his belief in the ideals of Marxism. He has always regarded himself as an outsider, as a poetic irregular, as in his *Labyrinth of Loneliness* that appeared in 1950.

Of mixed Spanish-Indian blood Paz, wedged between doctrinaire Marxism and an all-powerful ruling party, became an embittered opponent of totalitarianism. Unlike other fellow-travellers Paz adopted a sceptical and later aggressive stance towards Fidel Castro's Cuba.

He maintained that this was just as inhuman, a regime as that of Pinochet in Chile — and as a consequence invoked storms of intellectual indignation.

But this did not worry Paz, now 70. He has not changed the political principles he holds, which he formed in the 1930s.

"I prefer intellectuals as dissidents, as outsiders of the society in which they live." This is a characteristic Paz statement that describes his own position. No particular camp can claim him for its own.

He is a lawyer's son. He founded his first magazine when he was 17. He broke off his studies so as to teach in a village school. For many years he lived in Europe, and was Mexican ambassador in Japan and India.

In 1968, when the police fired on demonstrating students in Mexico City he resigned his post in protest against the blood bath. Paz is an uncomfortable critic.

Wolf Scheller

(Vorwärts, 7 June 1984)

Team + computer = the nuts and bolts of James Joyce

James Joyce, the Irishman and master of "internal dialogue" took seven years to write his mammoth work, *Ulysses*.

The English philologist Professor Hans Walter Gabler of Munich and his team have taken just as long to filter the essence from a mountain of data, a quarter of a million words from the Joyce original.

With the help of a DM500,000 grant from the West German Research Society and the aid of a time-saving computer that was fed the material, it was possible to "rub out" more than 5,000 errors and error groups and so turn out from the main work what the author originally intended.

The practical assistance given by the university computer has made it possible to produce the work in three volume with 2,000 pages in English which would have taken many academicians ages to do sitting at a desk.

Joyce needed eight years to plan his book, complicated in language and content. Gabler will be able to bring out his criticial edition on 16 June at the 9th International James Joyce Symposium in Frankfurt.

Eighty years to the day noted by Joyce in his novel, 16 June 1904, the refound original will be presented. The computer has gone through five different texts word for word.

Apart from the handwritten text, the Rosenbach manuscript, that "was a p[illegible]lar for editorial work" there were typewritten transcripts. Thirteen of the eighteen chapters appeared in the American *The Little Review* between 1918 and 1920, until Joyce went into too many sexual details for the publisher.

The first edition of 1922 was based on this early publication as well as the re-print in 1926 which Joyce himself edited considerably.

The "essence" of *Ulysses* is not purely what the computer documented and processed, but the English philologist used the hand-written text in cases of doubt.

The computer had to recognise and turf out between 6,000 and 7,000 discrepancies and errors that the French printer of the 1922 edition made.

The new edition of *Ulysses* costs $[illegible] and is aimed at scholars, publishing people and translators.

According to Professor Gabler "English printers changed the incomprehensible and incomplete parts of the novel beause of Joyce's individual use of the English language."

But that is not all. Joyce himself gave his publishers many headaches. He changed the whole concept, changed pages and filled the margins with alterations up to the final proof. He filled proof after proof with alterations. A third of *Ulysses* comes from these first ammendments.

On the other hand, Joyce, the structuralist, who built up his work brick by brick, would strike out passages out of hand. The new edition, to be published by an American publishing house, [illegible] presented the "purified" definitive edition.

Professor Gabler hopes that the first 2,000 copies of the three-volume edition of the original text, decorated with Ulysses' bow, will in two or three years' time become the "normal" edition of English of the novel.

About a fifth of the "corrections" will be important for translators. The character of the young Stephen Dedalus becomes more self-confident.

Professor Gabler hopes to continue his work on Joyce and critically edit the whole of Joyce.

Hanns-Jochen Kaffsack

(Bremer Nachrichten, 5 June 1984)

■ THE CINEMA

China wins award at Munich festival

China sprang a surprise by winning an award at the Munich international festival of films for the young.

It was the first time China had entered, and it first had to come to terms with the fact that the festival is for everybody — and that includes the Soviet Union.

China submitted three entries and showed that although it and the United States might be miles apart in other ways, they are not when it comes to children's films.

This is the 20th year of the Prix Jeunesse awards, which are made at the festival, and the critics gave the organisers a pat on the back.

Ingo Hermann, head of educational TV at ZDF, for instance, noted that they had dealt for 20 years with "titles, form and quality aimed at being the child's advocate in what were often difficult conditions, courageously exposing themselves and the products to debate.

"What came to light was, as I saw it, nothing less than a supranational media culture for children and young people that has something to set against the unwitting reproduction of commercialised consense on TV (and, to a growing extent, on video cassettes and killer computers)."

Such tributes and other words of praise formed a mere accompaniment to a festival that in other respects was the same as ever: normal, attractive and, arguably as a result, with a record number of entries.

Fifty-seven TV corporations from Western and Eastern Europe, North and South America, Australia, Africa and Asia were represented — virtually the entire world.

The gap between the civilisations and social systems of competing countries at times defies even the best will in the world and the neatest turn of phrase. TV has failed to create McLuhan's global village.

But what makes the bumper TV and talk show mixture of the Prix Jeunesse festival so pleasant is that there are always changes and surprises.

A German TV reporter was struck this time by the way in which Third World representatives are steadily less eager to comply with Western standards and increasingly inclined to shake their heads in disbelief at aspects of the Western way of life.

In a British TV film entry, for instance, a child treated its cat as though it was a baby, which Third World filmmakers in Munich felt was very odd.

Carefully nurtured prejudices about the quality of a country's children's films seldom survive more than two festivals.

This year's surprise was China. Chinese children's TV consists of three programmes a week. For 10 years, throughout the cultural revolution, there were no productions at all for children.

In the United States, in contrast, there are now round-the-clock cable TV programmes for children in addition to the normal output.

The Nickel Odeon Channel, for instance, produced by Warner Bros, transmits 13 hours of children's TV a day.

Different though media systems may be, the messages put across in children's programmes have much in common, regardless whether they are a little clumsy, as in China, or smooth and pop, as in America.

The prize-winning Chinese entry, entitled Grass Engineers, told the tale of a school competition for which the children designed the weirdest, most imaginative and improbable cars imaginable.

Confucius, as the head of Chinese children's TV, Shou Yuanjun, gently reminded the Munich audience, encouraged everyone to make full use of their talents.

Most Americans may feel a greater affinity to Kung Fu than to Confucius. There were certainly definite appeals to ambition in US programmes entered.

"Do something! Make the most of yourselves!" seemed to be the message. It differed surprisingly little from the Chinese message, although it was put across more suggestively and with greater formal perfection (and more woolly animals).

The Chinese, incidentally, seem keen on woolly animals. Ever since Sesame Street's Big Bird perched on the Great Wall of China (Big Bird in China was a 1983 Sino-American co-production) Shou Yuanjun has wanted a similar animal for Chinese children's TV: a Big Panda, of course.

Big Bird in China was not uniformly popular in Munich. It certainly showed that Americans and Chinese share a liking for sentimental kitsch.

One reporter muttered "A cultural disgrace!" as Big Bird and Barkley the shaggy dog jumped up and down, waving to all and sundry, on Chinese tourist sights.

It was, perhaps, just as well that Sesame Street was represented by another programme entitled Don't Eat the Pictures that was uniformly acclaimed.

It took Big Bird, Ernie, Bert and the crew to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where they are as witty and amusing as US TV at its best can be.

Programmes of this kind are aimed at expanding children's horizons in an entertaining manner, which was more than could be said for all entries.

Entries in the storytelling and information categories were a fair mixture of average and outstanding productions, whereas the entertainment category was, in a word, depressing.

Artificial creatures careered round the studios, arts and crafts came to the fore, and children were cast in the guise of junior adults. It was all a sad reflection on the abysmal quality of TV entertainment for grown-ups.

If Sesame Street had not been to the museum the first prize for entertainment could well have gone to the festival's coffee break.

Cornelia Bolesch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 June 1984)

Continued from page 10

shabby end. But there was a shady side to their harmony.

The chief conductor and the orchestra were one in their reserve as regards new music and changes in philharmonic concert management. Both sides are not particularly interested in having a director with flair.

It will be seen when it comes to electing a new conductor and a new director if the crisis was beneficial, whether a way forward will be found or whether the Berlin Philharmonic will lapse into complacency.

That would certainly be the case if the affair sinks into a "comfortable" solution and that no rein is given to the divergent individual interests of the orchestra.

Rudolph Ganz

(Kölner Stadt Anzeiger, 7 June 1984)

Bernhard Minetti in Thomas Bernhard's *Der Schein trügt* at the Berlin drama festival
(Photo: Schauspielhaus Bochum)

■ THE THEATRE

A violent, real-life sequel to a theatrical Peepshow

As coincidence would have it, at the end of the Berlin drama festival a tabloid daily told the tale of an intruder in a West Berlin apartment who forced a woman student at knifepoint to "do it the way they do at the peepshow."

Peepshow was the title of a Bochum production directed by George Tabori in which the 70-year-old scion of a Hungarian Jewish family illustrates the Freudian wisdom that birth is the first shock in life and that a boy loves his mother more than his father.

Violence was illustrated, but little else was to be learnt, which came as a surprise after Tabori's imaginative, sensitive Munich production of Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*.

It and Peter Zadek's no-nonsense Munich production of Ibsen's *The Master-Builder* were, on reflection, the highlights of the festival.

Nausea, blood and excrement were prominent in a Bochum production of Heiner Müller's *Verkommene Ufer Medeamaterial Landschaft mit Argonauten*, directed by Manfred Karge and Thomas Langhoff.

Kirsten Dene is a marvellous Medea, slicing her slaughtered sons as meat from a can. But the effect was not shock; it was more on the banal side.

Robert Wilson's *The Civil Wars*, so successful on the Rhine, came from Cologne. It was a spectacular directed by Wilson, who was also responsible for stage effects and lighting.

Technical complexity left the Cologne company with no choice but to perform the play in Berlin's International Congress Centre, an unfortunate venue where one always feels as though

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

one is trapped in an air chamber below deck in the *Titanic*.

Wilson's spectacular was accordingly experienced as a sequence of attractive but fairly confusing and arbitrarily arranged submarine scenes.

Bernhard Minetti starred again in *Der Schein trügt*, written by Thomas Bernhard and directed by Claus Peymann.

Yet one wonders whether this mutual affinity (of Minetti and Bernhard) is not verging on mania. Minetti was very much his usual self.

Rudolf Noelte's Hamburg production of Gerhart Hauptmann's *Michael Kramer* was not one of his best either.

Views differed in Berlin on the Munich production of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* by GDR director Thomas Langhoff, who at one stage was tipped to succeed Jürgen Flimm in Cologne.

They also differed on Wolfgang Clemen's Mannheim production of Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya*. But both were not bad for much of the time.

Neither was Peymann's Bochum production of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* with its wonderful panoramic set by Karl Ernst Herrmann.

But was the director attempting too much by trying to recreate Sicily and Bohemia on stage at the same time? Or did the cast simply have a bad day in Berlin?

This final production of the festival shared with the first, the Munich production of Franz Xaver Kroetz's *Nicht Fisch nicht Fleisch*, directed by the playwright, the drawback of being overloaded toward the end.

The entire 20-day festival, with 13 "productions of the year," was arguably overloaded, with the emphasis on Bochum and Munich.

There was also a comprehensive accompanying programme, including readings of plays not yet staged and a show of mime, music, dance and theatre at the Academy of Arts.

Jürgen Beckelmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 June 1984)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Dumped poison: factory is threatened with closure

High concentrations of dioxin have been found in pesticide process waste at a Hamburg chemicals factory. Dioxin is the chemical involved in the infamous Seveso case in north Italy. Hamburg city has threatened to shut the factory if it cannot demonstrate that no more dioxin is being produced.

The C. H. Boehringer firm at Moorfleet, an outer suburb,has for years been fighting a running battle with environmentalists. It has been accused of being the main source of toxic waste in Hamburg.

Market gardeners in the area have sued the company for polluting fruit and vegetables. Doctors say more babies in the area are born deformed than anywhere else in the city.

The authorities have been less than assiduous for years in checking out the works. No one, of course, is admitting that.

The fact is that there are 300 jobs at the works and unemployment in Hamburg is above the national average.

One Hamburg senator cynically commented that where there are jobs and prosperity, you can't expect the air of a holiday resort.

Yet if the latest readings are accurate, the Boehringer works have for years been an environmental scandal.

A high dioxin count occurs in waste from the output of hexachlorcyclohexane, or HCH, a pesticide marketed under the trade-name Lindan and recommended by the Bavarian government to deal with the bark beetle.

The Swiss authorities have for months been wondering how to destroy the drums of dioxin waste from Seveso in Italy that "disappeared" in transit and were found in an old shed in France.

Hundreds of drums of Boehringer waste that may well be no less lethal are piling up at a dump near Kassel.

The management of the dump has been notified by the Hamburg environmental authorities that the HCH waste, which has been stored there for some time, probably contains dioxin.

The Kassel dump consists of underground vaults, so retrieving the drums to insulate them is said to be no problem.

Environmental Affairs Senator Wolfgang Curilla has ordered Boehringer to stop shipping HCH waste — a ton a day — to Kassel.

In May last year the company yielded to heavy political and public pressure and stopped manufacturing a weedkiller used as a defoliant by the Americans in Vietnam because its process waste contained dioxin. HCH waste didn't, the management assured the authorities.

Politicians initially took this assurance at face value. The Green-Alternative List, an Opposition group in the Hamburg city council, says this was an admission of total defeat.



The Hamburg factory of the chemicals firm H. C. Boehringer is picketed by members of the International environment protection organisation, Robin Wood. (Photo: ...)

There can be no denying that the 300 jobs at the Moorfleet works have influenced political decisions. Unemployment in Hamburg is above the national average and the Social Democrat-run council has always been accused of hostility toward industry.

So maybe, although no-one will officially admit to anything of the kind, the authorities turned a blind eye to what was going at the controversial chemicals factory and weren't as strict as they might have been.

The latest readings go a long way toward accounting for dioxin pollution at the nearby Georgswerder waste tip, which was where HCH waste used mainly to be dumped.

The management dispute the validity of such claims and the accuracy of the readings, saying their measurements show a much lower dioxin count in the waste.

But that lets the cat out of the bag. They used staunchly to deny there was any dioxin in it at all.

The works now may face closure unless the company complies with a number of strict regulations, including harmless dioxin counts in effluent and from the works smokestacks. No-one knows how high they used to be; readings have never been taken.

Thomas Wolgast

(Mannheimer Morgen, 8 June 1984)

Toxic waste 'reaching supplies of ground water'

Ground water, which used to be regarded as unpolluted, is increasingly threatened by old toxic waste seeping down to the water table, chemists were told at a Bad Homburg conference.

Experts used to be convinced, said Dr Klaus Haberer, of Wiesbaden, that ground water was completely free of impurities after passing through the soil and spending time underground.

Ground water is widely used in the Federal Republic of Germany as a source of tap water.

But toxic waste dumped on rubbish tips in days when people were not as

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pollution-conscious as they are today is increasingly proving not to have been treated carefully enough.

Both household waste on local authority rubbish dumps and industrial waste seem to have polluted ground water reserves, and unsatisfactory storage and handling of organic matter in the past have proved an even worse, and often unexpected offender.

Dr Haberer was particularly unhappy about trichorethylene and tetrachlorethylene, solvents widely used in trade and industry (in dry cleaning, for instance).

Agriculture and forestry are also a threat to the purity of ground water, he said, in view of the use of pesticides and weedkillers, of sewage sludge enriched with heavy metal, and overuse of fertilisers, which has led to a great increase in the nitrate count of ground water in recent years.

Fertiliser, he said, must be spread by farmers and wine-growers at the right time, otherwise water stood to be polluted.

No fertiliser, neither mineral nor organic, must be used in autumn or winter when it would probably be washed out of the soil by rainwater.

High nitrate counts in ground water could be converted into toxic nitrite by intestinal bacteria. Infants could be seriously poisoned and die as a result.

Extracting nitrate from water was extremely complicated and costly, he said. There were no simple solutions.

The most promising process seemed to be biochemical degradation of nitrate into nitrogen by harnessing the mighty microbe. But electrochemical techniques might also work.

In cost terms it would make much more sense to keep nitrate pollution of ground water to as low a level as possible by using fertiliser in the right way. About 300 experts attended the three-day conference.

dpa

(Handelsblatt, 30 May 1984)

■ MEDICINE

Relax, take a tranquilliser – and become addicted

There are three main psycho-pharmaceutical drugs, anti-depressives, neuro-leptic drugs and tranquillisers.

Anti-depressive and neuro-leptic drugs have been used successfully worldwide against psychosis, and have made life easier for patients suffering from depression, mania or schizophrenia.

What is more they have been used in treating pain, combined with harmless medicines such as aspirin. Both groups do not cause addiction.

On the other hand it is become more and more obvious that tranquillisers, used as sedatives and soporifics, can frequently lead to severe addiction. The wide-spread use of tranquillisers today is probably based on this characteristic.

The most important tranquillisers are benzo-diacepine-derivatives (Valium, Librium, Tavor, Lexotanil, Adumbran, Rohypnol, Frisium etc).

It has been estimated that eight per cent of adults in the industrialised nations take benzo-diacepine and are dependent on it. Among older people it is ten per cent.

Addiction is the most frequent affliction of those admitted to psychiatric clinics, and, after alcoholism, addiction to benzo-diacepine is the most frequent.

When a new preparation of this group appears on the market it is always maintained that unlike other preparations, the new one does not cause addiction.

But specialists as well as producers know that all benzo-diacepine preparations appearing on the market have the same dependence effect, as they are all directed to the same nerve cell receptors.

A craving and an increase in the drug's use develops with repeated doses (self– administered).

Benzo-diacepine is one of the addictive drugs similar in type to barbiturates.

The seriousness of this addiction has not come to light because of the slow secretion of benz-diacepine, and the difficulties of diagnosing the addiction.

Benzo-diacepine dependence,as with alcohol or cigarette smoking, develops from relatively small doses at the beginning that are kept up over years.

But in the end the mental ability to resist slackens and doses have to be increased.

Good health, productive powers and responsiveness suffer also when a person is dependent on small doses. Withdrawal symptoms include anxiety, sleeplessness, nervousness, hallucinations, delirium, epileptic fits and attempted suicide.

The considerable number of relapses confirms the seriousness of the addiction, even after competent treatment in a specialist department.

In the majority of cases the addict first took the medicine under doctor's prescription. The magazine *Das öffentliche Gesundheitswesen* (Public Health Affairs) in issue 46, 63 of 1984 spoke of "an epidemic spread by doctors".

Benzo-diacepine is the cause often of job or road accidents, of a decline in professional abilities and early retirement.

The danger of a road accident rose five times through benzo-diacepine according to a major epidemological survey carried out in Britain.

The triumphal march of tranquillizers in medicine must be seen "together with false emancipation that began with the cultural revolution of 1968", said *Lebensversicherungsmedizin* (Life insurance medicine).

Then the number of delinquents directly involved in drug crimes increased by leaps and bounds, according to Federal Crime Office figures. In the first years this crime wave involved in the main young people.

From 1968 onwards there was a sharp rise in the incidence of youth alcoholism and alcohol consumption and cigarette smoking among girls and women. Since then there has been a sharp increase in the number of babies injured in the womb because of alcohol (alcohol embryo-pathology). These days the incidence is similar to that of mongolism, that formerly was the most frequent kind of impairment.

The medical answer to the uninhibited craving for release from responsibility and for pleasure was an increase in the number of tranquillisers prescribed.

The United Nations' Narcotics Commission, on behalf of the World Health Organisation concluded that the consequences of this change of behaviour through benzo-diacepine addition were enormous for industrial and developing nations. It was proposed that the World Health Organisation in 1984 should place benzo-diacepine on the psycho-pharmaceuticals agreement, on a par with narcotics.

It is to be hoped that in West Germany stronger controls will be applied. It is indeed essential that a clearer description of the dangers of addiction should be included on the packing.

There has been discussion of a prescription control through the family doctors association, the prohibition of combination preparations with tranquillisers and the inclusion of benzo-diacepine under the provisions of narcotics legislation.

Control through the family doctor association would be difficult because of the vast number of prescriptions issued. A procedure operated in Hamburg could well be a model for a nation-wide scheme. In Hamburg prescriptions from a doctor for certain medicines are only authorised with two stamps.

A prohibition of combination preparations would avoid some of the abuse, without disadvantages for the patient and an increase in administration.

Benzo-diacepine is not so indispensible a medicine as would be supposed from the frequency with which it is prescribed. Although it may sound banal the best tranquilliser is work in the garden, hiking and an evening stroll.

L-Tryptophan and weak neuro-leptic drugs (such as Dipiperon) are suitable replacements as sedatives and soporifics to benzo-diacceptine. These medicines are to be recommended for many patients, seeking to free themselves from benzo– diacepine dependence during the withdrawal phase.

Benzo-diacepine is only indispensible in cases of epilepsy (status epilepticus). It is also useful for heart attacks and as an anaesthetic, but in these cases it should only be injected by a doctor, and not prescribed to a patient in tablet form.

In tablet form benzo-diacepine should only be considered for its antiepileptic affects.

Hans H. Kornhuber

(Die Welt, 9 June 1984)

Symbol contact opens doors for handicapped

A language of symbols including Chinese characters is coming into wide use in West Germany for children who cannot read, speak or spell.

Research has shown that children can learn a symbol language more easily than the letters of the alphabet.

Children use an information board with symbols placed underneath a written explanation. The child can simply point to the symbol, which might, for example, represent a hamburger, and the waiter would only have to read the word hamburger above it.

Fifteen thousand people in West Germany can neither read, write nor spell.

The system was thought up by an Austrian Jew, Charles K. Bliss, a Buchenwald survivor, as an attempt to create an international language. It was later developed and used with much success in Canada, the USA and Britain.

Since 1979, four hundred specialist teachers, parents and logopaedists have been trained in the Bliss language.

Hermann Frey, a specialist teacher from Düsseldorf said that "the pioneer work has been done." He was trained for four years in the Canadian Blisssymbolics Communication Institute in Toronto. He is in charge of training in West Germany working together with the West German Spastics Association.

"Bliss" constructs 25 symbols via circles, triangles, squares or wavy lines. These can be set together and sketch the defined object.

But sometimes a single symbol is not enough description, as for example House or Letter. But put House and Letter together and there is a new meaning "Post Office". (House for Letters".

"Happy" is produced by a stylised "Heart" (feeling) and an arrow pointing upwards.

The person being talked to does not need to know the Bliss symbols. For him or her the word in conventional script appears over the picture. With his index finger he can read the "translation" word for word on the board.

The success of "Bliss" is based on the fact that children can learn a symbol language faster than letters, as scientific surveys have shown.

Speaking with symbols is fun and children discover undreamt-of possibilities for expressing themselves. They feel they are communicating.

How little they understood of what was going on around them during the years of silence is exemplified by a nineteen-year-old girl whose first sentence was: "Why — am — I — in — a — wheelchair?"

Originally Charles K. Bliss, an Austrian, developed his symbol language for a different purpose.

Bliss, a Jewish chemist, fled from the Buchenwald concentration camp during the Second World War, took a ship to China, lived for five years in Shanghai

Continued on page 14

Drugs threat to sex life, doctors warn

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The use of psycho-pharmaceuticals can impair sexual capacity, according to a survey.

More than two-thirds of 68 psychiatrists questioned by Bernhard Strauss and Jan Gross of the Hamburg University nerve clinic said patients reported serious reductions in sexual interest.

The survey was commissioned by the West German Research Society.

According to the scientists writing in *Psychiatrischen Praxis*, there was frequently a decrease and not infrequently a total decline of sexual interest.

The psychiatrists questioned said that as regards sexual functions men were mainly afflicted with a decline in potency and women seemed to suffer from emotional disturbances and difficulties in reaching orgasm.

Particularly harmful to love life were neuro-leptic drugs used against schizophrenia, but also anti-depressants and sedatives that contained benzo—diacepine.

Due to anxiety and shame, the doctors said, only about a half of patients concerned spoke of these side-effects with their psychiatrist, and only then after a long period of introspection or when the medicine was discontinued.

df

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 June 1984)

Air pollution link with child illnesses

The West German Children's Doctors Association is demanding a central registration office for illnesses that linked to environmental pollution.

Professor Dieter Palitzsch (Gelnhausen), speaking at the association's annual meeting in Siegen, said that it would be possible to evaluate the effects of unclean air on the respiratory system with such a scheme more accurately than it has been possible to do so until now.

He pointed out that until now there was no overall view of where the danger of coughing and suffocation in laryngo tracheitis was particularly severe.

Doctors have noticed over the past few years that there has been an increase in the number of small children suffering from this illness that can often be fatal.

Professor Palitzsch told the 300 doctors and 200 children's nursing sisters at the conference that there were no grounds for a general unease among the population about the health of the country's youth. He said: "Our children are healthier than ever before."

Nevertheless a close watch over developments in environmental pollution was necessary. Children's doctors must support where possible parent's campaigns in this matter.

Statements made at the conference showed that progress had been made in reducing the risk to children of X-rays by using ultrasonics for diagnosis.

dpa

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 4 June 1984)

■ MODERN LIVING

Rise of unemployment beginning to wreak havoc on marriages

DIE ZEIT

More and more marriages are being put under pressure because of unemployment. Many women now have a jobless man around the house and suffer agonies as a result.

A survey reveals that the psychological and social effects of unemployment are more serious that shortage of money.

Unemployment has wrecked the 19-year-old marriage of Georg and Carla Becker. Georg, 45, is a professional engineer who has not worked for a year. Carla is 41. They have an 18-year-old son.

"I used to be a full-time housewife and mother, "she says.

Then she began to study, went to women's group meetings and study circles and, four years ago, started working as a secretary. "That made me feel more independent and headstrong," she feels.

Since Georg lost his job he has made life difficult for her, she says. He has grown depressive and accuses her of paying too little attention to him.

Jealousy is the main problem. "He has nothing else on his mind all day and checks every move I make. If I come home later there is hell to pay. Either that or he bursts into tears."

She has long ceased to look forward to coming home. "I was used to being a housewife and mother," she says, near to tears herself, "but now I'm simply different. Back to the old role? Not me. I *just couldn't. Now she plans to get a divorce.*

Carla Becker may not be her real name, but she and her husband are real people, and there are plenty more like them.

There is less cash in the kitty, they quarrel more and are more afraid of the future. They eat less meat but drink more schnapps. They have fewer friends and resort more often to violence in the family.

These are all typical effects of unemployment on families noted in a survey by the research unit of the Federal Labour Office, Nuremberg.

The psychological and social effect of unemployment on the family was found to weigh much more heavily than shortage of money.

Problems start in the kitchen. If she is a housewife and doesn't go out to work she will suddenly find him sitting there one morning where she has reigned supreme for years.

At times he will interfere, claiming to be able to do everything better. At times *he will be apathetic and depressed.*

"Then he wants to be consoled and given a boost," says one housewife confronted with the problem of a housebound out-of-work husband. "It is as though you suddenly had a child, except that it's much more difficult."

Yet if the wife goes out to work every morning he will feel just as upset by the reversal of roles. The family's erstwhile Foreign Minister and breadwinner now has to be maintained by his wife.

"He was always firmly convinced the husband's role was to earn the money and decide how it was spent, while the wife stayed at home and looked after the family," says Frau Becker.

"He thinks I'm keeping him down," says teacher Sabine Lange of her unemployed husband.

Yet she has to admit that she has caught herself asking him whether he really had to spend money on this or that book, whereas she bought things for herself as a matter of course.

A 40-year-old unemployed merchant navy captain feels he has somehow been dropped now his companion mans the helm. "Now he tries in bed to rule the roost," says girlfriend Ingrid Köhler, "so as to feel he is still in charge in at least one department."

Wives find it hard to come to terms with their husbands' greater expectations. When she comes home exhausted after a day's teaching, says Sabine Lange, "he's standing there waiting for me on the doorstep to bombard me with everything he has heard on the radio or read somewhere or other."

She would sooner take a nap on the sofa, but doesn't dare. "I feel sorry for him. He doesn't have anyone else to talk to."

As a result she swallows her irritation, but they often quarrel over minor details, such as a coffee cup he has forgotten to put back in the cupboard. Yet if she tells him she can't be bothered listening to what he has to say she has a guilty conscience.

The situation is much the same as that of husbands who go out to work and wives who don't.

"Just as housewives tend to see their husbands as a substitute for the great wide world," says Barbara Rohr, a Bremen University don whose partner is out of work, "unemployed husbands now expect their wives to bring the world into their lives. In the final analysis that is the kiss of death for any relationship."

Come home soon, hubbies plead. Don't go away. Console me. Leave me alone. Suffer with me. Cheer me up. Tell me something. Expectations grow immeasurably.

Women feel duty-bound to try and oblige: as mothers, consolers, entertainers, levellers. They have always been taught that it is up to them to be the heart and soul of a relationship, to keep the family together, to promote harmony.

Women are in little or no position to free themselves from the role of sacrificial mother and helper. It is what is generally expected of a good wife.

She used to ply him with love, food and clean clothes to ensure that he turned up at work the next day as fresh as a daisy. Now she feels responsible for problems over which she has no influence.

The consequences can be devastating. "I just can't hear his moaning any longer," one wife says. "He sticks to me like glue yet still behaves as though he were God's gift to woman.

"At times I simply don't go home after work if I'm in a good mood. He's out of work and I'm at the end of my tether."

Since her husband has been unemployed, she concludes, she has found it harder to live a life of her own. Emanc pation has proved much more arduo

Bremen psychologist Thomas Kie bach agrees. "In a critical situation s as unemployment new ideas in life a unlikely to be tried out. People make with what they feel is tried and trusted"

His conclusion is that mass une ployment in the Federal Republic Germany is encouraging a reversion traditional roles and marks a change the worse in women's efforts to achie emancipation.

Many women have learnt in rece years to insist on a life of their own, b now they are tending to revert to trad tional roles, often feeling obliged by guilty conscience to do so.

Men seldom have guilty conscien if their wives are sacked. The world still in order if the wife then has to sta at home and be a mere housewife.

Most women, including singles, less upset about losing their jobs th men. They have been taught to mainta a dual identity: one for work and one home life.

"Women," says Professor Rohr, "a in a better position to see househol chores and caring for the child as a pu pose in life."

Men feel insulted if they have to we an apron. Gerd Fuchs in his novel Ei Mann fürs Leben describes how Hei unemployed, opens the door to w come a friend.

He is wearing an apron and brandis a bucket and mop. His friend looks at incredulously. He is just a laughing stoc

Many women would agree that a m who does household chores isn't a r man. Marion in the novel feels that about Heinz.

"She had long ceased to derive a enjoyment from sex with him, but had insisted on it. Did she no longer any store by it? Maybe because she longer set any store by him?"

Ingrid Köhler feels exploited by friend, the unemployed merchant na captain, because she has to pay for many things they do together while feels fine about not having a ship to sail

"Somehow or other," she says, " isn't a real man. What kind of a man hangs around like he does?"

She takes a dim view of the outlo for their partnership. In the long run doesn't want to share her life with unemployed man. "Someone who do nothing is simply worth less," she feel

Ulrike Petzold

(Die Zeit, 1 June 1984)

Continued from page 13

and ended up in Australia.

After his terrible experiences he wanted to develop a universal language, based on Chinese characters, so as to create better understanding between peoples, something similar to Esperanto.

The book he wrote in 1949 went unnoticed for twenty years. Then in 1971 a team of teachers, psychologists, doctors and therapeutists in Canada sought for a means of communication for the disabled who could not speak. They stumbled across the completely developed "Bliss" language, full of a wealth of information and simple.

Disabled children can now join children who can speak in their lessons.

Hermann Grünheidt/
Andreas Landwehr

(Rheinische Post, 30 May 1984)

Love, romance flourish in the small ads

Marriage ads in West German newspapers still favour charming, lovable women and interesting, affectionate men. Newspapers the length and breadth of the country still run small ads promising all the traditional values.

How much truth is there in the old clichés? Is it all bunk? What kind of people really try to find a man or woman to share their lives by advertising?

Hamburg University sociologist Margot Berghaus has taken a closer look at the newspaper marriage mart, interviewing many advertisers in north Germany and sending questionnaires to others all over the country.

Dr Berghaus's survey is the first scientific investigation of its kind ever undertaken in the Federal Republic of Germany, and she arrives at a number of surprising conclusions.

Advertisers include not just the socially disadvantaged but also people of both sexes who most would classify as leading successful lives. They don't live in isolation and have many friends and acquaintances.

They are middle-aged, mainly divorced, and make up 30 per cent of the total and the largest single group.

Dr Berghaus attributes the numerical strength of this group to the fact that they see marriage and lonely hearts ads in the papers as a possible means of getting to know a wider range of people.

Other groups are more keeping with accepted clichés. Over 25 per cent of advertisers, for instance, are single mothers to whom a newspaper advertisement seems the only way out of isolation.

Much the same is true of the "lonely young man," a type who may not seem to be entirely on his own but feels that way.

He often feels his friends and acquaintances don't really appreciate hi and hopes to surmount such difficult by means of a small ad. His category a counts for a further 15 per cent of lon ly hearts ads.

Women aged over 50 whose hu bands have either died or got a divor and who have no career of their own a bound to feel loneliness is a curse. The too are regular advertisers, also a counting for about 15 per cent.

That leaves 10 per cent Dr Berghau describes as "professionally disintegra ed," meaning students, pupils, unem ployed and pensioners.

"In view of the fairly successful resu to which respondents laid claim the ma riage and lonely hearts columns may b said to perform a positive function," th Hamburg sociologist concludes.

"Whether in the long run it can be s ciety's only answer to structural pro lems of human relationships such a have been indicated is another matte That," she says, "is more than doubtful"

Ruth Hanser

(Bremer Nachrichten, 4 June 1984)

■ OUR WORLD

Did Jesus really live to the age of 107 in India?

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

A Muslim sect with adherents in Germany believes that the whole of Eu ope will one day be converted to Islam.

Its case rests on the belief that Chris anity is founded on a false basis. Christ, ays the sect, did not die on the cross and erefore did not rise from the dead.

He went to India after surviving the ucifixion and lived to more than 100. He married, had children, and people in India today are descended from him.

The Ahmadiyya sect was founded in 1889 by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. It has an estimated three million mem bers in various parts of the world and 70 missions in Europe, Asia and Africa. It has three mosques in West Germany, in Hamburg, Frankfurt and Berlin.

In 1973, the then leader of the sect, Hazrat Mirza Nasir Ahmad, announced that in 30 years, German youth would far more readily accept Islam.

Then in 1978 he said that the whole of Europe would be Muslim within 100 to 150 years.

Now two Germans have produced two books, *Jesus lebte in Indien* (Jesus lived in India), and *Starb Jesus in Kaschmir?* (Did Jesus die in Kashmir?), which tell the story of this belief that Christ appeared in Kashmir as a prophet with the name of Yuz-Asef.

He was venerated for many years and when he eventually died he was buried in Srinigar in a grave bearing the name "Rauzabal".

This story, seems at first glance to be beyond belief. Holger Kersten and Siegfried Obermeier produced the books respectively for the publishing houses, Knaur and Econ.

The books are full of annotations, sketches and explanations. Reading through it all might just produce a certain feeling of disquiet that perhaps this is a theory that ought not to be so lightly dismissed.

However, it is indeed untrue. But they are a good read. It is exciting to find out exactly why it is all untrue. And it is also exciting to find out why the theory is being pushed so hard today.

It is claimed that a document dating back to 1776 refers to the burial place Rauzabal and says: "Yuz-Asaf, who is buried here, came as a prophet to Kashmir during the time of Gopadatta."

King Gopadatta is said to have ruled from AD53 to AD113, and, according to a reference by Islamic historian Mullah Nadiri, restored an ancient temple near Srinigar, the Throne of Solomon. He arranged for an inscription to be placed on four columns.

It read: "This column was built by the humble Bihishti Zargar in the year 50 and 4. At this time, Yuz-Asaf preached his prophetic message. In the year 50 and 4. He is Yus, prophet of the sons of Israel."

Now if that indicates that it was Gopadatta's 54th year of reign, then it can be established that Jesus was 107, a long life, but not beyond belief.

But the truth of the matter is that the year 50 and 4 is a long way from the 54th reigning year of a king in the first or second century. For many years, archaeologists have identified the year 54 as 1054. In addition it relates to a starting point when Muhammad fled from Mecca to Medina. That was 622 years after Christ.

So that brings us to a prophet called Yuz-Asaf who lived nearer the 17th century than the beginning of the first century — a life span some way removed from what Jesus described as the biblical life span.

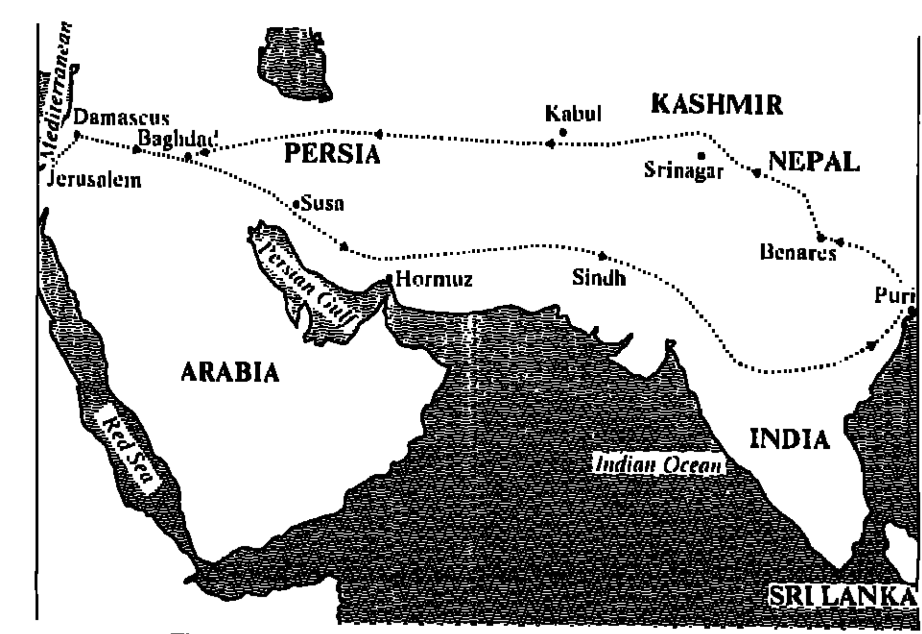
It is also maintained that when Christ went to India after the crucifixion, it was not the first time he had been there. This is purported to explain a gap of 20 years between the appearance of a 12-year-old in the temple and the baptism of the 30-year-old.

He had been in India. Th reference in Luke to Jesus growing in wisdom is said to actually refer to his first time in India. Kersten and Obermeier claim to demonstrate this in their books.

They quote a document in which a Russian historian and explorer, Nicolai Notovitch, reported in 1887 about a monk in Kashmir whose life was supposed to have had similarities with that of Jesus.

Notovitch had gone to Kashmir where he had broken his leg in an accident with a horse. He had been taken to a monastery where he had been looked after and where he had talked with one of the monks.

The monk had produced two old, yellowed manuscripts from his library that recorded in detail the life of "Issa" and had read the manuscripts for two entire days to Notovitch.



The route of Jesus' alleged first trip to India and back

(Map: Siegfried Obermeier's Starb Jesus in Kaschmir? Econ Verlag)

Notovitch published his reputed Life of Issa first in French and then in German. One example of the text's contents: When Jesus was 13, he fled from his Jerusalem home in panic as mothers sought the attractive youth to have as a son-in-law at any price.

When Jesus was 14, said Notovitch, he was already in India. He studied among Buddhists and Brahmins, but when relations with them became bad, he returned to Palestine out of fear of persecution.

Notovitch's spectacular story has only one blemish. It is false. The existence of the reputed manuscripts, for example, is strongly challenged. In addition, there are serious doubts about the story of the broken leg and the episode in the monastery.

At the end of last century, an eminent authority on India, Friedrich Max Müller, checked with the British colonial administration in Kashmir, and there were no reports of any European being treated for a broken leg in any monastery. However, it is corect that Notovitch was treated by one doctor in Kashmir — for toothache.

Both authors make a lot of use of one source of information, Professor Fida Mohammad Hassnain, who lives in Srinigar. Hassnain, who regards himself as a "Jesus researcher", but who also calls himself sometimes an archaeologist or an authority on India, has been trying to sell this story to the world for 10 years.

And that is where the Ahmadiyya sect comes in. The founder, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, considered himself to be the new messiah and his followers armed themselves for battle rather like the crusades in reverse.

What they say is: "If it is demonstrated that Jesus did not die on the cross, then he did not rise from the dead, and the whole Christian belief collapses."

So that makes one thing clear. The Ahmadiyya mission stands or falls on the theory that Jesus lived out his life in India.

Irene Meichsner

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 26 May 1984)

At last, it's the voice of the Young Turk

Youth is one of the most popular subjects for opinion researchers. What will the young make of their future?

Trying to look into the hearts and minds of youth is clearly just as fascinating as astrology, just as unpredictable and almost as prolifically reported on.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* has published a youth study by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation which reported that the idea of "no future" is a thing of the past and that achievement, career and confidence are right back.

Then there was a survey which the Shell company managed to sell superbly and which kept the media occupied for weeks.

Another survey was described by the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* as "one of the most comprehensive studies of youth in the history of (this sort of) research in Germany."

This is refreshingly different from the Shell effort in that its methods were sound and analyses careful. It was paid for by the Volkswagen Foundation and was done by two social scientists at Frankfurt University, and has the extravagant title of The Preparedness of Youth To Integrate in Times of Social Change.

But this study has another special difference. The authors, Klaus Allerbeck and Wendy Hoag, have gone out of their way specifically to interview young foreigners.

They wanted to find out if young foreigners born between 1964 and 1967 are ready to integrate. And are their German contemporaries ready to accept them?

Young Italians and Turks were questioned in centres in the south German *Land* of Baden-Württemberg.

The first thing that the study did is eliminate a prejudice. That was the one that held that Turks, especially girls, could not be questioned in their own circles because of the suspicious eyes watching to make sure that outside contact was limited.

The study revealed, in fact, that many Turkish families were delighted that their opinion should be sought.

On the German side, it quickly emerged that the term *Gastarbeiter*, or guest worker, meant Turk. In fact, the whole issue of foreigners was a Turkish question. Turks were held in the lowest regard among all foreigners.

But opinions were not uniform. The less educated the respondent, the lower the opinion of the *Gastarbeiter*. The authors warn that negative opinions can result from personal competition and limited personal resources.

Foreign workers compete in the lower levels of the job market and the lower housing bracket and are obvious at the lower end of the leisure field.

The authors found that supporters of conservative political views tended to have the lowest opinion of Turks and supporters of the Greens the highest. And the higher the social level,the higher the connection between political opinion and opinion about foreigners.

Ideas of what the Turks should do came from all sides.They should integrate. The authors say the prospects of integration are better than is generally supposed.

But they warn of the dangers of xenophobia, especially for those foreigners who have the best chance of integrating: young people who have been in Germany for 13 years or more, who speak German and who have adjusted to life in West Germany. They feel strongly the dislike of foreigners.

Several questions arise from the survey: will the planned measures to halve the number of Turks in West Germany help to integrate those who stay behind?

Is the lure held out to encourage repatriation, a payout of social security cash, a sensible way to approach the issue?

Allerbeck and Hoag say not. The way the please-go-home money is calculated means that the material incentive is the greatest among families who have been the longest in the Federal Republic, that means those who have progressed farthest towards integration.

A changed political approach is needed if integration is really wanted.

Margit Gerste

(Die Zeit, 11 May 1984)